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Learning to pour: An exploration into the socialization of the male night shift bartender.

Adam Gordon Park. Stubbs
University of Windsor

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Learning to Pour: An Exploration into the Socialization of the Male Night Shift

Bartender

by

Adam G. P. Stubbs

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor**

**Windsor, Ontario, Canada
2001**

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Abstract

Bartending is an important aspect of the service industry. As with any occupation, bartending is a job that must be learned. The purpose of this thesis was to explore how ten males were socialized into the role of nightshift bartender. In line with Akers' social learning theory, the bartenders in this study learned the various aspects of their job through differential association, differential reinforcement, imitation, and definition formation. They were exposed to and learned a number of work-related behaviours that could be defined as deviant, including: excessive alcohol consumption, sexual activity, and cash scams and hustles. Interestingly, the findings of this study indicate that non-deviant and deviant behaviours were learned through the same processes and involved interaction with other members of the bar subculture. For many of the bartenders in this study, deviant behaviours became normal aspects of their occupation. Once the bartenders learned their roles including the various behaviours associated with bartending, many of the veteran bartenders experienced a sense of mastery and control over their occupation, that some referred to as "achieving the zone."

Dedication:

To my parents, Gordon and Susan Stubbs, and my sister, Krista Stubbs, for a lifetime of learning. Your confidence in my ability has pushed me to keep moving forward.

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Learning To Pour: An Exploration into the Socialization of Male Nightshift Bartender

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Chapter One

Introduction

In addition to being a graduate student, I am also a bartender. My seven years experience as a member of this occupational group was the impetus for this thesis. As a bartender, I was exposed to a number of activities that exist within the bar subculture. In the world outside the bar some of these activities would be considered deviant or even illegal- but all were considered relatively normal within the bar subculture. While working as a bartender, I experienced and observed the processes bartenders undergo as they learn their job and become part of the bar subculture. My experience has given me a personal view into the social world of the bar.

As a new bartender, I had to learn all the features of the occupation. Much of my learning occurred through trial and error, teaching by more experienced bartenders and managers, and from imitating actors I had seen in bar-related movies (e.g., Cocktail) and television programs (e.g., Cheers). I recall asking a manager during a slow period on one of my first shifts, “what do I do?” My manager responded, “bartending things,” and walked away. There I was, with very little experience, trying to figure out what exactly are, “bartending things?” What I gradually learned was that “bartending things” included not only the technical aspects of tending bar such as serving food and/or drinks and cleaning and stocking the bar, but also the use of a variety of social skills and my place as a bartender within the subculture. As a bartender, I learned attitudes and practises that would be considered deviant in the outside world to members of conventional society.

As a criminology student, I have always been interested in social deviance. Working in bars over the years has raised a number of questions for me with regards to

deviant or semi-deviant aspects associated with the occupation. I became particularly interested in how activities become normalized within the bar subculture, as well as how bartenders learn to accept and deal with them. Activities such as: excessive consumption of alcohol or drugs, sexual activity among various members of the bar subculture, and/or techniques involving theft and manipulation are a few examples of such behaviour. As I began to learn the various behaviours (deviant or semi-deviant and conventional behaviours) associated with the occupation, I began to experience what some bartenders refer to as “being in the zone,” a state where a bartender is synchronized with his/her job, where he or she has been completely socialized into the job and the subculture and is living the gestalt of the bartender’s role.

Many Canadians seek employment in the service industry and the position of bartender remains a popular choice. The relatively high social status of bartenders within the service industry and the potential to earn substantial amounts of money, likely contribute to the desirability of the job. Using the symbolic interactist framework to guide data collection and analysis, this study explores the process of socialization to the role of male nightshift bartender, including the interpretative processes bartenders engage in to give meaning to their social worlds. It also illustrates the coexistence of conventional and deviant behaviour and the process by which deviant behaviour is normalized for bartenders. In particular, it examines how some bartenders become immersed in the subculture of the bar, including excessive use of alcohol, and numerous sexual partners.

Using an interpretivist approach to social science research, this thesis uses qualitative methods to explore the experiences of ten male bartenders who work the night

shift. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews and self-reflective analysis of my own experiences as a bartender. Having worked as a bartender for approximately seven years in a variety of establishments (e.g., dance bars, jazz clubs, and grill houses), I have developed a working knowledge of the occupation. My bartending experience facilitated developing rapport with interviewees, as well as aiding in the interpretation of interview and observational data.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

Symbolic Interaction

A symbolic interactionist perspective was used to examine the socialization to the position of male, night shift bartender. Symbolic interactionism “focuses on the nature of interaction, the dynamic activities taking place between persons” (Charon, 1979:23). Since socialization occurs through interaction – with employers, more experienced staff members and customers – this framework is most appropriate to this study. According to Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism is based on three main premises. First, “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them” (1969: 2). Second, “meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows” (1969: 2). And third, “meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters” (1969: 2). During this process, a person communicates with others to create an understanding of a specific “thing” that corresponds with their unique perspective.

An important element of the symbolic interactionist perspective is the concept of “self”. The individual’s self is a construct that develops during social interaction (Charon, 1979). According to Mead (1934), “the ‘self’...arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals in the process” (135). Thus, the individual’s experiences and interactions with others play an active role in the development of the self.

Social identity is an aspect of the self that is of particular interest to symbolic interactionists. According to Hewitt (1991), social identity:

refers to a sense of self that is built up over time as the person participates in social life and identifies with others...To have a social identity is to identify with some set of people with whom one feels an affinity, in whose company one feels comfortable, and whose ideas and beliefs are similar to one's own (127).

Symbolic interactionists view social identity as the result of an individual's identification and interaction with other people. "Like other objects, the self-object emerges from the process of social interaction in which other people are defining a person to himself" (Blumer, 1969:12). Symbolic interactionists suggest that the social world is created from the continual interaction of its members. Meanings develop and change through social interactions. The meaning that a person gives to the rules and roles of their social world may change through continued interaction.

Symbolic interactionists are interested in examining social positions and the specific roles engaged in as a result of occupying social positions. According to McCall and Simmons (1966), social roles are a "set of expectations held toward a given position" (64). Every social position is believed to exist with a category of roles that define expectations of behaviour. Rather than being determined by these expectations, the individual in each position interprets these roles and attributes personal meaning to each one. As a result, one person may define a role differently than another. Symbolic interactionists are interested in the processes responsible for the definitions of various social roles and positions.

Symbolic interactionists emphasize the importance of individuals in the creation of role definitions. As stated by Hewitt (1991:94), "participants in any social situation have a sense of its role structure." Every person in a specific social situation is believed

to have some knowledge regarding which roles belong to specific social positions. From a symbolic interactionist's perspective, "a role is a configuration or gestalt--not a list of duties, but rather an organized set of ideas or principles that people employ in order to know how to behave" (Hewitt, 1991:94). Thus, a person's actions in certain circumstances depend on an organized set of ideas that have developed during his or her experiences. Symbolic interactionists maintain that individuals and their experiences determine what roles will influence their behaviour.

Symbolic interactionists differentiate between role-making and role-taking. Role-making "is the process wherein the person constructs his or her own activity in a situation so that it fits the definition of the situation" (Hewitt, 1991:98). Role-taking, in contrast, refers to "the process wherein the person imaginatively occupies the role of another and looks at self and situation from that vantage point in order to engage in role-making" (Hewitt, 1991:98). Symbolic interactionists believe that both role concepts interact and compliment each other. An individual who occupies a new social position will be required to learn the psychological, social, and physical expectations relevant to that position. Role-making and role-taking are two techniques people use when attempting to identify appropriate behaviour for their unique position. These techniques occur at the symbolic level, and involve interaction between the individual and others.

Symbolic Interactionism and Bartending

Much of the bartender's occupation involves interacting with other bartenders, staff members, and clientele. In each instance of interaction, meanings develop that define the bartender's social world. In the social world of bartending an array of "things" exist which may be unique to each bartender or to bartenders in general. These

“things” may include certain types of situations, rituals, customers, physical objects necessary for the occupation, and/or duties. Socialization to bartending includes learning to identify and give meaning to these “things.”

Like any occupation, shared social identity among bartenders is an important element of the job. Bartenders develop a self that is associated with bartending through the process of socialization. A bartender’s self is defined through interactions with other bartenders, as well as customers and staff members. Understanding the social and interpretive processes present during these interactions is essential to understanding a bartender’s social world.

Bartenders may also have to play a variety of roles when bartending. These roles may be formal or informal. For example, bartenders are formally required to act as a beverage and/or food server to their clientele, a role that is obviously dealt with in formal socialization processes. While serving drinks, a bartender may informally play a role that involves flirting to increase the likelihood of a tip or sexual activity. Bartenders must learn what roles are appropriate for their occupation and how to engage and manage them. They may learn these roles through interactions with others, and therefore, behave in a manner that corresponds to the roles or organized ideas that they are exposed to during their job. Thus, role-taking and role-making involves the bartender engaging in a reflexive process. Likewise, bartenders, through anticipatory socialization, may take on roles that they have been exposed to prior to bartending (e.g., in movies or television shows depicting bartenders). McCall and Simmons (1978:75) note that individuals choose roles that are likely beneficial or provide forms of extrinsic reward (e.g., money, labour, favours, etc.). As with any occupation, bartenders may choose roles that prove to

be beneficial (i.e., increased gratuity). For example, naturally unsympathetic individuals may learn to play the role of the sympathetic bartender if it increases the likelihood of gratuities. Using the symbolic interactionist approach to social science, this study explores how bartenders undergo socialization to their occupation

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is a subset of symbolic interactionism that specifically looks at how people learn to take on roles. A bartender's social world is predicated largely on social interaction. As a result, learning the occupation of bartending, including the otherwise deviant behaviours, occurs through social interaction. Akers' social learning theory illustrates how individuals learn both conventional and deviant behaviour through social interaction. Akers (1998) posits:

The basic assumption in social learning theory is that the same learning process, operating in a context of social structure, interaction, and situation, produces both conforming and deviant behavior. The difference lies in the direction of the process in which these mechanisms operate. In both, it is seldom an either-or, all-or-nothing process; what is involved, rather, is the balance of influences on behavior...Conforming and deviant behavior is learned by all the mechanisms in this process, but the theory proposes that the principle mechanisms are in that part of the process in which differential reinforcement (instrumental learning through rewards and punishment) and imitation (observational learning) produces both overt behavior and cognitive definitions that function as discriminative (cue) stimuli for the behavior (50).

Therefore, all behaviour is learned through interaction with others and involves both overt behaviour and cognitive definitions by the individual. One predominant element of the social learning theory is Sutherlands' theory of differential association.

According to Akers' (1985:41), the social learning theory was developed to expand on the concept of differential association by further examining the learning processes involved in deviant, as well as conventional behaviour. Akers (1998)

maintains, “social learning is not meant to be an alternative, competitive, or rival theory to Sutherland’s theory. It is, instead, a broader theory that...modified and clarified, with differential reinforcement and other principles of behavior acquisition, continuation, and cessation from behavioural learning theory” (47).

Social learning theory involves the existence and interaction of four major learning mechanisms. First, Akers adopted Sutherland’s concept of differential association. Much like Sutherland, Akers (1998:62) believes that:

The groups with which one is in differential association provide the major social contexts in which all the mechanisms of social learning operate. Not only do they expose one to definitions, they present models to imitate and mediate differential reinforcement (source, schedule, values, and amount) for criminal or conforming behavior.

Learning occurs through the interaction of members of a group or subculture. Through this interaction individuals are exposed to all mechanisms of learning specific to that particular group or subculture.

Second, Akers stressed the importance of differential reinforcement (instrumental conditioning) for learning. According to his theory, individuals behave in a manner that can be understood by identifying perceived consequences of the actions. “Differential reinforcement refers to the balance of anticipated or actual rewards and punishments that follow or are consequences of behavior” (Akers, 1998:67). Behaviour that results in rewards will likely be learned and repeated, whereas, behaviour that results in punishment or negative consequences will not.

Akers distinguished between social and nonsocial rewards/reinforcements. Proponents of the social learning theory believe that social rewards are more influential in learning than nonsocial rewards/reinforcements. Akers (1977:55) explains that social

rewards involve “not just the direct reactions of others present while an act is performed, but also the whole range of tangible and intangible rewards valued in society and its subgroups.” Social rewards can include such things as money, praise or approval, or a job promotion. Whereas nonsocial rewards/reinforcements involve the individual experiencing positive, “unconditioned physiological reaction to environmental stimuli and physical effects on ingested substances and the physical environment” (Akers, 1998:53). Nonsocial rewards may include such things as the intoxicating effects of alcohol or illicit drugs. Social learning theorists argue that all behaviour can be explained by the presence of these rewards or punishments as consequences of behaviour.

Third, Akers emphasized the important role imitation has in individual learning. Imitation involves one individual watching and modelling the behaviour of another. According to Akers (1998), “whether the behavior modeled by others will be imitated is affected by the characteristics of the models, the behavior observed, and the observed consequences (vicarious reinforcement) of the behavior...”(75). Thus, learning through imitation also involves elements of differential association (those being observed) and differential reinforcement (whether the behaviour results in positive or negative reinforcements). Therefore, social learning theory involves the intermingling of different processes of learning.

The last major component of the social learning theory involves definitions/discriminative stimuli. Discriminative stimuli can take unlimited form (e.g., overt and covert stimuli, verbal or cognitive, etc.) and essentially act “as cues or signals for behavior to occur” (Akers, 1998:78). Akers (1998) emphasizes both a social and internal process that occurs regarding definitions:

Exposure to others' shared definitions is a key (but not the only) part of the other process by which the individual acquires or internalizes his or her own definitions. They are orientations, rationalizations, definitions of the situation, and other attitudes that label the commission of an act as right or wrong, good or bad, desirable or undesirable, justified or unjustified (78).

Thus, the individual not only acquires from others the necessary definitions to engage in certain behaviours; he or she also internalizes his or her own individual definitions based on current or past experiences. In line with the social learning theory, these definitions can take the form of general or specific beliefs or definitions.

General definitions are beliefs held by most of conventional society. These definitions may "include religious, moral, and other conventional values and norms that are favorable to conforming behavior and unfavorable to committing any of a range of deviant or criminal acts," whereas, specific definitions "orient the person to particular acts or series of acts" these may be conventional (e.g., normative) or deviant (Akers, 1998:78). Akers (1998) further divides specific definitions into two types. First, some specific definitions are positive and as a result, "are beliefs or attitudes that make the behavior morally desirable or wholly permissible. They are most likely to be learned through positive reinforcement in a deviant group or subculture that carries values conflicting with those of conventional society" (79). It is through such specific definitions that an individual learns to positively value what in conventional society is considered deviant. Second, Akers identified neutralizing definitions that "favor violating the law or other norms not because they take the acts to be positively desirable but because they justify or excuse them" (79). In this way an individual learns to justify deviant behaviours. According to proponents of social learning theory, learning any behaviour (deviant or otherwise) involves the processes of differential association,

differential reinforcement, imitation, and definitions or discriminative stimuli. In most cases, these four major processes of social learning are intertwined and occur together as one comprehensive learning process.

Thus, deviant and non-deviant behaviour must be learned and explained or justified in order to be engaged in. Akers (1998:51) makes four major propositions that influence which behaviours occur:

- (1) Differential association with others who model and support behaviours- either/or a combination of those that conform to societal norms and those that violate social and legal norms.**
- (2) Behaviours are differentially reinforced, either in conformity to the norm and/or conformist behaviour is reinforced over violative behaviour.**
- (3) He or she is more exposed to and observes more deviant than conforming or more conforming than deviant behaviour.**
- (4) His or her own learned definitions are favorable toward committing deviant acts and/or conforming acts.**

Through these four processes bartenders learn their role- a role that includes a mixture of what, to the world outside the bar subculture, are normative and deviant elements. In the bar subculture, however, they are all normative. In this study, social learning theory is applied to male bartenders in an attempt to understand how they learn to be both members of conventional society and valued members of the bar subculture. Members of conventional society generally view alcohol abuse, casual sex, manipulation for money, and chronic “nightlife” involvement as deviant, and therefore, it is fascinating that bartenders can become immersed in a subculture where such behaviour is considered normal, is expected, and occurs nightly. Symbolic interactionism and social learning theory provide a vehicle for understanding how this occurs. They tell us that the relationships bartenders have with other bartenders, staff members, and clientele are particularly important. Through interaction with others, bartenders become desensitized

to aspects of the bar culture that they might otherwise find objectionable to justify the activities that occur in that subculture, and they develop identities, skills, and techniques necessary for bartending.

Relevant Literature

Sociologists have developed and applied theories of occupational socialization through studies of service industry occupations such as: bartenders (Bissonette, 1977; Cavan, 1966; Prus & Irini, 1980; Spradley & Mann, 1975;), waitresses (Butler & Skipper, 1980; Butler & Snizek, 1976; Paules, 1991; Prus & Irini, 1980; Spradley & Mann, 1975), exotic dancers (Lewis, 1998; Thompson & Harred, 1992), and cabdrivers (Davis, 1959; Karen, 1962). Each of these groups depends on gratuities (tips) for the major portion of their income with their work requiring a high degree of sociability. Occupational socialization must therefore address not only the job-related tasks and employment relationships, but also interactions with clientele that maximize income. Several themes emerge in the research on waitresses, exotic dancers, and taxi drivers that are relevant to bartenders. In addition, research on socialization to other occupations, such as medical students (Haas & Shaffir, 1978) provides insights relevant to bartending. This section reviews this literature with a particular focus on how it informs an understanding of socialization to bartending.

Self Esteem

Despite the service nature (e.g. servant-customer relationship) of the bar industry, bartenders maintain a high social position within the bar subculture. As a result, bartending produces high self-esteem and job satisfaction when compared to other occupations (Walsh and Rosenthal, 1981; Walsh and Taylor, 1982). Walsh and Taylor

(1982) explain that the bartender's status as one who enforces the norms of the bar sub- or idio-culture (ideology unique to bar subculture) may explain the self-esteem and satisfaction levels:

We suggest that the role of the bartender in establishing and enforcing idiocultural norms for the small group with whom they interact might help explain their high self-esteem. Quite possibly the bartenders are typical of other low status workers whose jobs are embedded in idiocultures which protect, and even enhance, self-esteem (264).

Several researchers have examined the occupational hierarchy (Paules, 1991; Prus & Irini, 1980; Spradley and Mann, 1975) of bars. Spradley and Mann (1975), in The Cocktail Waitress, identify a hidden hierarchy which exists among the employees of a bar establishment. The bartender's position in this social hierarchy is quite high in comparison to the wait staff, and other employees. According to Spradley and Mann (1975) bartenders hold the same status as management and customers, and are viewed as "very important people" (70-71). Wait staff are informally trained to respect the bartender's higher social status. Generally speaking, "the waitresses have one fundamental principle: 'don't assert yourself but let the bartender's wants determine the course of each encounter'" (Spradley & Mann, 1975:72). Research by Butler and Skipper (1976) indicates that there is "a positive relationship between job satisfaction and worker autonomy" (491). Understanding the hierarchical structure in bars (e.g., bartenders, wait staff, managers, customers, etc.) may be of importance when explaining high self-esteem and job satisfaction rates among bartenders. The high status of a bartender may perpetuate a higher sense of autonomy, job security, and/or purpose.

As Adler and Adler (1989) found, celebrity status experienced by famous people can lead to increased job satisfaction and self-esteem. High levels of job satisfaction and

self-esteem in bartenders may be related to the high status afforded to bartenders in the service industry. In their study, Adler and Adler (1989) examined the development of the “glorified self” in professional athletes. A professional athlete’s self-concept transforms as a result of the symbolic interaction between themselves, the media, and the public. Professional athletes internalize the celebrity status as a result of the public’s expectations of them. As Adler and Adler (1989) note, “athletes responded [to the public and media’s glorified image of them] by playing the corresponding roles because of organizational loyalty, interactional obligations, and enjoyment...the glorified self not only influenced athletes’ future behavior but also transformed their self-conceptions and identities” (Adler & Adler, 1989:307). The glorified self develops from the public’s positive opinion of the athlete, which then is internalized by the athlete as being a true image of them.

The glorification process outlined by Adler and Adler (1989) may explain why bartenders show high levels of job satisfaction and self-esteem. The media has glorified the occupation of bartending. For example, bartending was glorified in the movies Cocktail and 54, and again with the television show Cheers. Generally, in each example, customers and other staff members sexually desired bartenders. Bartenders were depicted as individuals who were in control and people from all walks of life came to them for guidance and advice. Bartenders “call the shots” regarding who drinks, and moreover, who stays on the premises. Bartenders’ clientele may also contribute to the development of a “glorified self” through daily interaction. Customers may praise the bartender for his skill as a conversationalist, comic, storyteller, or as a lady’s man. This

interaction may positively reinforce a “glorified self” in the bartender that may result in high levels of self-esteem and job satisfaction.

New bartenders must learn the definitions associated with their position or role in the bar subculture. They learn through interacting and observing how others (e.g., servers, managers, customers, etc) interact or view more senior bartenders. As the bartender’s social position is defined for him, the bartender may begin to develop a sense of importance in the bar subculture and thus, experience high levels of job satisfaction and self-esteem.

Socialization Techniques

Occupational socialization provides an opportunity to learn aspects of the job. Paules (1991:79) identified two socialization processes that waitresses go through when learning their occupation. The first involves “shadowing” where the new waitress will follow a veteran waitress during a shift and learn from her example. Second, with limited experience or training, the waitress is requested by management to cover other employees’ shifts. The new waitress is under-qualified and must learn and socialize herself through self-learning into the occupation through her experiences. From this we see that both instruction by others and self-learning are important socialization techniques.

Similar to waitresses, researchers (Lewis, 1998; Thompson & Harred, 1992) examining exotic dancers identify two ways in which dancers are socialized into the occupation. Lewis (1998) found that exotic dancers undergo socialization that is “anticipatory in nature, occurring prior to dancing; and/or that occurred on-the-job, once they were employed to dance in a strip club” (53). Socialization into a bar job (whether it

be a dancer, waitress, or bartender) appears to occur through teachings of more experienced workers, learning from previous individual experience prior to being hired, and learning that occurs once hired.

Socialization processes that exist among medical students may be relevant in the occupation of bartending. A study by Haas and Shaffir (1978) focused on the socialization processes responsible for the professionalization of medical students. Their findings indicate how medical students become socialized into a medical culture with many different symbols (language, tools, clothing, demeanour, etc.) that distinguish the medical student from those of outside society(s). This new knowledge and distinct culture perpetuates a sense of competence and high social status in the medical student (73).

Bartenders may also go through a form of job-related socialization to an occupational subculture. The techniques described here- shadowing, learning by doing, learning from more experienced staff, anticipatory socialization and learning a new set of symbols that set the bartender apart- may all occur for bartenders.

Content of Socialization

a) money.

One essential aspect of socialization to bartending is learning techniques to maximize tips. Similar to bartenders, waiters/waitresses (Paules, 1991; Butler & Snizek, 1976; Butler & Skipper, 1980; Prus & Irini, 1980), cabdrivers (Davis, 1959; Karen, 1962) and exotic dancers (Lewis, 1998:59; Thompson & Harred, 1992:307) depend heavily on gratuities (or “tips”) as a part of their income. The literature on socialization to each of these occupations addresses learning how to maximize tips. The importance of tips is

seen in the work of Butler and Skipper (1980) and Davis (1959). Butler & Skipper (1980) found that gratuities comprise more than two thirds of the income of American waitresses. In Davis' (1959) study of cabdrivers he found that "for the non-cab-owning company driver, the sum collected in tips amounts roughly to 40 percent of his earnings" (140). In addition to monetary gain, tips have a symbolic significance. A large tip can symbolically represent a huge victory to a waitress as recognition for a job well done (Paules, 1991: 40). Researchers also suggest that the amount earned in tips by exotic dancers can help them to justify or rationalize what they do for a living and the means by which they earn money (Lewis, 1998:59; Thompson & Harred, 1992:307).

Given the importance of tips to service occupations, researchers have identified techniques of manipulation used to increase tips (Butler & Snizek, 1976; Paules, 1991; Prus & Irini, 1980; Lewis, 1998). Butler & Snizek (1976) found that although waitresses maintain submissive roles "manipulation of the diner by the waitress often assumes a general front of guidance and takes that form of suggestions and recommendation" (211). For example, waitresses may make suggestions to customers who are placing orders to increase the overall total of the bill in an effort to increase the percentage of tip that is left behind by each table. A server may increase the likelihood of tips by dressing provocatively or by flirting, complimenting, or 'buttering up' customers (Prus & Irini, 1980:148). Lewis (1998) notes that exotic dancers "use impression management skills to create an illusion that will allow them to control/manipulate their audience in order to achieve... the acquisition of money" (59). Besides manipulation of the interaction between the server and served as a method to increase tips, Paules (1991:26) suggests

that waitresses will service more customers by requesting a larger or busier section of the restaurant to increase tips.

Service workers may typify or categorize clientele into specific customer types in order to determine which techniques will likely result in the largest tips. Davis (1959) found that cabdrivers typify their clientele (e.g., the Sport, the Lady Shopper, Live Ones) to determine which mode of services would yield the largest tip. Similarly, researchers have found that waitresses also use typifications to determine which mode of service suits specific customers and will result in the largest tip (Spradley & Mann, 1975: 61; Paules, 1991). Although service workers may use typifications in an effort to increase tips, their typifications are often ineffective. For example, based on his study of cabdrivers, Davis (1959:164) notes that, "in the analysis, neither the driver's typology of fares nor his stratagems further to any marked degree his control of the tip." Despite the ineffectiveness of typifying customers in understanding tipping behaviour, Paules (1991:35) suggests that such typifying systems are necessary because they allow service workers to justify why customers "stiff" them with small tips.

Bartenders depend largely on gratuities as income, and therefore use many of the same techniques as waitresses, exotic dancers and taxi drivers. Typification and the cues and clues that result in different client typifications must be learned like any behaviour. Bartenders may learn how to typify customers through personal interaction with clientele or are taught various typifications by more experienced bartenders. Bartenders may also manage their interactions with clientele and other staff members and use typification to explain the tips they receive.

In addition to tips received from customers and other staff members, bartenders and wait staff may steal from the bar or clientele to increase take home income per shift. Paules (1991:56) notes that some waitresses may steal from the diner by increasing portions of food, or not charging customers for items such as coffee, pop, or dessert, to increase the likelihood of receiving a larger tip. Similarly, bar staff studied by Prus and Irini (1980:152) may hustle customers to make more money during a shift by “overcharging on rounds,” “watering (juicing) down of cocktails,” or “adding an extra drink on a tab.” Research indicates that there may be a deviant element to service work (especially bartending) that involves manipulation, and cash scams and hustles. How to successfully “carry off” such scams without detection and the limits to which one can safely go, have to be learned.

b) sociability.

Sociability is an important element of service work. Waitresses, for example, must be sociable with clientele in order to succeed at their job (Butler & Snizek, 1976; Prus & Irini, 1980; Paules, 1991). Paules (1991:160) explains that waitresses are expected to maintain control over their personality, regardless of what is happening in the their life outside of work, and “method act” in a manner that pleases customers during their interaction.

Sociability is also an important element of bartending. According to Cavan (1966:129), “the bartender is open to the overtures of sociability of all present, and, in part, his job includes being so available to those not otherwise engaged.” Cavan (1966) identifies the informal social obligations a bartender has to the clientele as including: listening to their problems, advising customers on life issues, sharing a drink, etc.

Bissonette (1977:93) suggests that the social nature of the bartender's occupation makes him a "particularly valuable potential resource for reaching into the community as a case finder, referral source, and generally a front-line mental health worker." In his study, Bissonette (1977) identifies various social techniques pertinent to bartending. First, a bartender's personality is very important in developing rapport with clientele. As Bissonette (1977:94) notes, once bartender-customer rapport is established, the bartender has a "significant influence on the lives of his customers." Second, bartenders skilfully maintain role distance from clientele. This distance is accomplished by attending to formal duties as a means of disengaging from conversations. A bartender may purposely distance himself from customers or other staff members in order to maintain control of the bartender/customer or bartender/employee relationship. Third, a bartender's central location in a bar strategically places him in the centre of various communications. Bartenders provide a welcoming reception for regular customers, and in doing so increase their customers' sense of belonging. The physical design of the bar puts bartenders in a position that allows them to introduce customers to one another. Fourth, bartenders may inadvertently assume the role of the non-person. As Bissonette (1975) explains, "he is at one moment a friend and confidant and the next a non-party to propositions, plots, and intimate expression of affection both verbal and tactile [between clientele]" (97).

In addition to the various elements of sociability identified by Bissonette (1975), the type of establishment in which the bartender works may also influence his sociability at work. In the book Liquor License, Cavan (1966) distinguishes between four types of bars: the convenience bar, the nightspot bar, the marketplace bar, and the home territory bar. Each type provides bartenders with a different type of work atmosphere, clientele,

and/or staff. Bartenders may gauge levels and modes of sociability that best represent the clientele and staff they work with. A bartender working in a family grillhouse bar may act differently toward his clientele than a bartender who is working in a strip club. Therefore, in addition to learning to mix and serve drinks, socialization to bartending involves learning complex skills of sociability associated with each particular type of establishment.

c) bar subculture.

Research of bar subculture, such as that by Prus and Irini, (1980:170) suggests that “fitting in” to the work subculture is the most important aspect of bar socialization. In order to accomplish this, a worker must become comfortable with the work environment, his or her work duties, and the staff and management. Similar to Paules’ (1991) findings, Prus and Irini (1980) note that “acceptance of the bar setting may be facilitated by desensitization through prior involvements or by having insiders explaining, qualifying, and sometimes protecting the new person from incidents. At the same time, novices may pick up cues from staff” (172). Desensitization has to occur with respect to a variety of practises that are commonplace in a bar, but would be considered unethical, offensive or otherwise unacceptable outside the bar. For example, overcharging and manipulating customers, the presence of drugs, excessive alcohol use, and the kinds of behaviours people engage in when drunk.

Goals of this Study

Based on a review of social learning theory and the literature, several themes are relevant to a study of occupational socialization of the bartender. Social learning theory provides guidance on the methods of socialization to be explored in this thesis:

differential association, differential reinforcement, imitation, and definitions and discriminative stimuli (e.g., categories and/or neutralizing definitions). The literature on socialization provides guidance on the content of socialization that is examined: identity formation, skill development, sociability, techniques for maximization of income, alcohol, casual sex, and the bar subculture.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This study employed inductive, qualitative research methods to study socialization to the role of male nightshift bartender. Using an inductive model allows the researcher to discover meaning through interpretation of the data (Creswell, 1994:94). As Blumer (1969) notes, it is important to enter the research field in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the topic of study. According to Blumer (1969), a researcher must:

go directly to the empirical social world-to see through meticulous examination of it whether one's premise or root images of it, one's questions and problems posed for it, the data one chooses out of it, the concepts through which one sees and analyzes it, and the interpretations one applies to it are actually borne out (32).

Three forms of data collection were used to enter the field. Firstly, relevant literature was examined to aid in setting the framework for my research. Secondly, ten male nightshift bartenders were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Lastly, self reflection on my own experiences as a bartender was used to supplement data gathered during interviews.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, approximately one to two hours in length, were conducted with ten male bartenders, working in Windsor, Ontario. Interviews were held in a quiet location, agreed on by the interviewee and myself (e.g., apartment, university office, etc.), and during a time that was convenient to the participant. As suggested by Cicourel (1964:102), the interviews were tape recorded in order to allow me to focus on the interview, and what the interviewee was saying, rather than on note taking.

Purposive sampling was used to select the sample group. Babbie (1991) notes, a researcher may use purposive sampling when he or she has special knowledge about the area of study and therefore, can select participants that would best represent the study. I have worked in the bar industry as a bartender for approximately seven years. Based on my experience I delimited the study to males who worked as nightshift bartenders. Only male, nightshift bartenders were examined to make this research more manageable as a master's thesis. I selected bartenders for the study to ensure they varied in terms of age, type of bar they were working in, and years of experience. These differences among the participants provided for a variety of unique experiences in my sample. In addition to interviewing bartenders I knew, I asked acquaintances to introduce me to other bartenders whose participation in the study further ensured diversity in my sample.

Developing rapport with interviewees is an essential requirement when performing qualitative interviews. According to Cicourel (1964), an effective interviewer promotes a comfortable atmosphere and builds strong rapport with the participants. Rapport was important during the interviews for this research project, especially when I inquired about sensitive topics (see Appendix C) such as: income and debt, drug and alcohol abuse, and sexual activity associated with the job. I found that my seven years of experience as a bartender and my working knowledge of the occupation facilitated developing rapport with participants. For example, the bartenders were comfortable discussing issues of substances abuse, sexual activity, and/or techniques of manipulation for money with me because they viewed me as a fellow bartender. I was able to appreciate and use the bartending language, as well as use my own personal experience to probe into certain areas of the interview questions that resulted in full, rich data. By

doing so, the participants became at ease with their responses and more willing to delve into their personal experiences as bartenders.

All information gathered during the interviews was kept confidential.

Pseudonyms were used with the information gathered during interviews in order to ensure confidentiality. The actual names of the participants in this study were secured in my safety deposit box until this research was completed in case it was necessary to re-contact them. Upon the completion of the research, the list was destroyed.

Creswell (1994) identifies a number of possible advantages and disadvantages of using interviews to collect data. In terms of advantages, interviews provide an effective means to study situations to which the researcher does not have access (e.g., unique experiences of each bartender). In addition, interviews can be used to recall information from the past (see Appendix C, question 6.e). Interviews enable researchers to maintain control over the direction of the conversation, and in doing so, elicit relevant information from participants (see Appendix C, question 3.g). There are also disadvantages associated with the use of interviews to collect data, including: the information obtained from interviews is based on an interviewee's unique experience, and therefore not representative of a larger sample, and interviews take the researcher away from the environment being studied, and as a result, leave interpretation of the environment in the hands of the subjects' experiences. In line with the symbolic interactionist perspective, the focus of the study was to explore each of the interviewee's unique experiences as a bartender. Consequently, the first disadvantage was not a problem for this study. In addition, reflecting on my personal experiences [as a bartender in the environment being studied] partly counteracted the second disadvantage associated with this methodology.

The Sample

All ten interviewees selected for this thesis were working as bartenders in Windsor, Ontario, at the time of our interview. The interviewees varied from one another in a variety of ways. They ranged in age from eighteen to twenty-eight years. The sample was comprised of males who worked as nightshift bartenders for a period of four months to ten years. The bartenders also varied in their type of bar experience. The types of bars the participants have worked in included: (1) “25 and up” adult lounge/clubs; (2) university pubs; (3) downtown “kiddie” bars; (4) neighbourhood drinking bars; (5) restaurant/grill-house bars; (6) fine dining restaurant bars; and (7) private golf course bars. Four of the bartenders’ jobs involved some managerial responsibilities (e.g., locking up the bar at night, counting cash deposits from servers, voiding employee mistakes involving drinks, etc.). Some bartenders relied on bartending as their sole source of income, while others worked additional jobs to supplement their income. These supplementary jobs included other restaurant and bar jobs and travel agency jobs. Some of the interviewees were university, college, and high school students. Several of the bartenders were involved in serious relationships with significant others, some of whom worked outside the bar.

Self Reflection

Self reflection was used to supplement interview data. According to Berg (2001:139), reflexivity “implies that the researcher understands that he or she is part of the social world(s) that he or she investigates.” Self reflection involves researchers using personal experience and observation to interpret meaning in the social world they are studying. Werner and Schoepfle (1987:63) comment that, “this combination of

insider/outsider provides deeper insights than are possible by the native alone or an ethnographer alone. The two views, side by side, produce a 'third dimension' that rounds out the ethnographic picture."

As interview data were analyzed, my own experiences and observations as a bartender over a seven-year period were used to provide in depth reflections on potential meanings of what interviewees disclosed. In addition, personal experience and, in particular, feelings and personal reflections that supplemented or differed from those of the participants became part of the data for this study. These are clearly identified as my own experiences and reflections.

There are advantages and disadvantages regarding the use of self reflection in collecting social data. Some advantages associated with self reflection are that the researcher is able to develop an intimate relationship with the environment and its occupants, and is provided with the opportunity to observe phenomena that are not accessible to the general public. I have been able to observe employees and clientele in a natural setting as they interact with each other and with me. I have obtained first hand knowledge of the social interactions that occur between bartenders, other staff members, and clientele. Self reflection provides insight into the feelings and internal deliberations and considerations of at least one bartender.

Despite the advantages associated with self reflection, there are disadvantages associated with self reflective methodology. First, ethical concerns may exist when using observations of people for research purposes without their prior consent or knowledge. This ethical concern was somewhat remedied, in that, the identities of all people I interacted with and included in my thesis were not recorded. In addition, since a bar is a

public location, clientele and staff do not have an expectation of privacy with respect to their actions or communications.

A second possible disadvantage involves the fact that my reflections may be subject to personal bias due to emotional involvement in the setting. Using an interpretive approach to qualitative research, Neuman (2000:75) notes that “a researcher should reflect on, reexamine, and analyze personal points of view and feelings as a part of the process of studying others,” and moreover, “interpretive research does not try to be value free” and questions, “the possibility of achieving it [value freedom].”

Furthermore, Gailey (1998:206) contends, “bias can be avoided to the extent that researchers can work to be aware of their own assumptions and can convey those to audiences. Such self-reflections and intellectual forthrightness helps the audience situate and evaluate claims within a wider field of argument.” Thus, my feelings and emotions were an important part of the data. Some of the concerns regarding my self-reflections were further minimized by the fact that observational data were only used to supplement interview data.

Validity and Reliability

There are several ways researchers can guard against weaknesses in validity when conducting qualitative research. Creswell (1994) identifies two forms of validity that should be considered: internal and external validity. Internal validity is, “the accuracy of the information and whether it matches reality” (158). He discusses three ways that researchers can increase the internal validity of a qualitative study. The first involves the practice of triangulation:

Triangulation is a powerful strategy for enhancing the quality of the research, particularly credibility [or internal validity]. It is based on the idea of

convergence of multiple perspectives for mutual confirmation of data to ensure that all aspects of a phenomenon have been investigated (Krefting, 1991:219).

A researcher may incorporate an examination of relevant existing literature, intensive semi-structured interviews with the participant population and self reflection on experiences in the research setting to meet the criteria set out by triangulation. A second method used by researchers to increase internal validity involves having the participants examine the study's findings to ensure they are accurate. A third technique involves key informants aiding the researcher in the interpretation process. This study incorporated findings from relevant existing literature, semi-structured interviews, and self-reflection to increase internal validity.

In contrast with internal validity, external validity involves the researcher discussing "the limited generalizability of findings from the study" (Creswell, 1994:158). The findings of this study are not generalizable to all bartenders for two reasons. First, due to the exploratory nature of this research, generalizability is not a goal. This research focused on the personal experiences of only ten male bartenders. Thus, the findings are not necessarily indicative of the experiences of male bartenders who were not interviewed, or the experiences of female bartenders. Second, this research project is limited to the occupational group that works a specific shift. The central focus of this research is the social world of the male, nightshift bartender, excluding bartenders that work other shifts (e.g., dayshifts).

In addition to validity issues, there are issues involving the reliability of research. In general, problems exist regarding the reliability of qualitative field research. As Babbie (1992) notes, due to its subjective conceptual nature, qualitative research is very difficult to replicate. Researchers should therefore address any difficulties that other

researchers may encounter replicating the study. In line with this recommendation it is important to note that researchers may have difficulty replicating the interviews in this study because of their semi-structured design. However, semi-structured interviews provided a method of data collection necessary when exploring various areas of each bartender's social world to gather rich, full data, in order to increase the likelihood of understanding the individual's unique experience. Also, my interpretations and experiences as a researcher (an interviewer and an experienced bartender) will be unique to me, and therefore very difficult to replicate.

Ethics

Several steps were taken to ensure that the procedures used in this thesis were ethically sound. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ethic's Committee, at the University of Windsor, approved the study. In line with the requirements of the Ethic's Committee, each interviewee was given a one-page information sheet (see Appendix A) outlining the purpose of this study. Complete confidentiality was ensured to each participant in this study. Confidentiality was ensured in that the interviewees' actual names (pseudonyms were used), name of the bar they were employed at, and/or any other identifying aspects of the interview were not used in any way during the writing of this thesis. Each interviewee was informed on the written consent form (see Appendix B), and by myself prior to the commencement of the interview, that they were free to decline answering any of the questions with no explanation necessary, as well as withdraw their consent at any time during the interview.

Chapter Four

Findings

Bar subculture

For the first time bar goer, a bar is a place to go to consume alcohol, eat food, listen to music, watch television events (e.g., N.H.L. playoffs), and/or to socialize with others (Cavan, 1966). From a business perspective, the primary purpose of a bar is to sell alcohol [and in some instances food] to the general public. As a result, a tremendous amount of the bar subculture involves the distribution of alcohol.

Since bars exist for the purpose of selling alcohol, it is obvious that the sale and consumption of alcohol and play a fundamental role in the bar subculture. According to many of the bartenders in this study, alcohol serves as a common thread that brings people together (e.g., customers and customers, staff and staff or staff and customers). Alcohol is used by the various members of the bar subculture to engage in conversation and/or to convey messages of gratitude. For example, customers may buy other customers or staff members a drink as a segue into conversation or may request doing a “shot” of alcohol with a staff member as gratitude for their service. On a deeper level, alcohol may be used by members of the bar subculture to relax them in the environment or to unleash social skills that are normally inhibited. People in the bar may also drink alcohol to pacify the cravings of alcohol dependency. What role and importance alcohol is given is largely determined on an individual basis.

Drugs other than alcohol may also be a part of the bar subculture. However, unlike alcohol, drugs and their use are more covert, probably because they are illegal. As indicated by some of the bartenders interviewed, customers and staff members may take

drugs prior to entering the bar. For example, bartenders interviewed for this study reported that some bar employees (e.g., bartenders, kitchen staff, etc.) smoke pot before starting a shift. Some members of the bar subculture may use illicit substances while in the bar (e.g., in the washroom) or leave the bar for brief intervals to consume drugs. Drugs use does exist in the bar subculture and maintains a role similar to that of alcohol.

Sexual expression may also occur in the bar (Prus & Irini, 1980; Lewis, 1998). Sexual expression may take the form of sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual activity and/or flirtation by various members of the subculture either in the bar or outside the bar. Most of the bartenders interviewed explained that some staff members and/or customers had offered to engage in sexual activity with bartenders. If the bartender accepted these offers, sex occurred in the bar itself or occurs after the bartender's shift at an agreed upon location. In addition, staff members may flirt with their clientele in an effort to increase the amount of tips they will receive (Prus & Irini, 1980; Lewis, 1998). For example, a waitress may wear suggestive clothing or take a "touchy-feely" approach with a male customer in an effort to increase the size of the tip he will leave her. Thus, sex, alcohol and drugs are very much a part of the bar subculture and all vary in amount, frequency and duration depending on the individual member and the type of bar.

The atmosphere and clientele are largely determine by the type of bar (Cavan, 1966). Restaurant type bars place an emphasis on food and cater to families and casual "get-togethers" among friends. Neighbourhood bars place minimal emphasis on food sales. Instead, they provide local residents with a place to drink alcohol and socialize. A dance bar or a party bar also places less emphasis on food and more on alcohol consumption. According to some of the bartenders in this study, dance bars or party bars

can also be distinguished by the type of clientele they attract. In an attempt to cater to an older, more mature crowd, owners may charge more for drinks or play music that is preferred by an older crowd. Other party bars may cater to younger drinkers. Owners of these types of bars may try to attract younger customers by advertising drink specials or ensuring that the latest, most popular, music is being played.

Since bars exist for customers, customers play a significant role in the bar subculture (Bissonette, 1977; Cavan, 1966). They may differ in age, gender, socio-economic status, alcohol and drug consumption habits, personality, and in their relationships with other customers and staff members, but all bar clientele, regardless of these variations, interact with other members of the bar subculture in some way (e.g., personal discussions with staff or other customers, giving a simple drink order, etc.). These interactions are crucial in the development of the bar subculture since it is through these interactions that definitions relevant to the particular environment, relationships and bar-related techniques are developed, learned and maintained by all the various actors in the subculture.

Employees are another important group in the bar subculture. All bar employees (especially those who deal directly with customers) are required to interact with clientele and other staff members as a large part of their job (Cavan, 1966; Butler & Snizek, 1976; Bissonette, 1977; Prus & Irini, 1980; Paules, 1991). For those employees who interact with clientele in exchange for gratuities, learning techniques of interaction are a predominant aspect of the socialization process. Bartenders interviewed for this study note that they learned how to flirt with female clientele or befriend male customers as a way to increase the likelihood of tips.

[W]hen they've [Women] been drinking a bit and they tend to be a little more amorous...a little more open to suggestion, flirt with them...basically if they want you to look favourably on them, they're going to leave you a good tip. They're going to tip a little more. If they come back for more drinks, tip a little more there [Corey]

Techniques of interaction (e.g. flirting) may be learned by associating with customers and other employees, by watching and mimicking more experienced staff members, or through simple trial and error.

According to social learning theory, socialization occurs through the processes of differential association, differential reinforcement, imitation, and relevant definition acquisition. These social learn processes were particularly important to the bartenders in this study when learning their occupation. As a result, these aspects of socialization were used as a framework to describe the socialization of bartenders.

Differential Association

Through the process of differential association, new bartenders learn how to act in the bar subculture, to see the bar as a normative environment and acquire definitions that favour engaging certain behaviours that are valued and normative in the bar (Akers, 1998:46). Some of these behaviours may be defined as deviant or illegal in the world outside the bar. In these cases, differential association facilitates both learning the behaviours and defining (or re-defining) them as normative. The bartenders in this study identified their interaction with other bartenders, other staff members (e.g., management, wait staff, etc), and customers, as fundamental to their learning of the occupation.

Similar to other bar employees, bartenders spend their entire work time within the bar and working in the bar subculture. Thus, they exist in a "differential location," one that centres on alcohol, involves drugs and sexual interactions of various kinds, and

where the bartender is dependent on keeping customers happy to maximize income. In addition, the working hours associated with the nightshift can isolate the bartender from interaction with people in day jobs, unless they are customers, and limit the people available for after work socializing to those who work at night, or are awake late at night.

Through interaction with various members of the bar, bartenders come to realize that they hold a relatively high position in the subculture when compared with other staff members. All the bartenders interviewed perceived their social position in the subculture to be similar to or just below a manager's position. According to Wiley, one of the bartenders interviewed for this study, "male bartenders and the owners are probably right on top." Another bartender explains that, "bartenders are the aristocrats of the working class." Male nightshift bartenders may come to learn that their position as a bartender is one that is both respected and valued.

Bartenders' perception of their social location may be reinforced through interaction with their managers and owners. Gord comments:

I mean obviously, the customer is above us, if you want to use a hierarchy kind of thing in a sense where they're most important. But if you're talking from a business point of view, I mean just yesterday, one of the owners told me that, and another one has told me this before, that...the bartenders that are there now are part of the reason why their place is doing so well.

Most bartenders attribute their higher social position in the bar subculture to one or more of the following: (1) mastery over the occupation; (2) level of knowledge over various aspects of the bar business; (3) the amount of income they generate for the business; (4) the control they have over everything (e.g., safe and fun atmosphere, other staff, customers, etc.); and (5) the central location of the bar, which seems to keep the bartenders involved in the action throughout the bar. One bartender compared bartending

to baseball saying, "I'm like the pitcher with the ball, you know, and everyone else is in the field, still an important part of the game, but I just so happen to have the ball in my hand the most." Reflecting on my personal experience and observations, owners, managers, and customers reinforced this actual or perceived social position. They have taken me, as well as other bartenders I have worked with, golfing or to professional sporting events free of charge. These types of perks rarely include other employees of the bar, thus overall feelings of importance and self-worth within the bar subculture increase. It is through such interactions that the bartender's social position (perceived or actual) in the bar subculture is learned. The bartender interacts with various members of the subculture (e.g. wait staff, managers, and/or customers, etc.) all of whom reinforce this high social position.

The process of differential association not only helps account for how bartenders learn to interact with individuals who are using alcohol, it can also be a means through which learn to consume alcohol. All of the bartenders interviewed admitted to drinking on the job at one time or another with other members of the subculture. One bartender described the pressure to drink and reasons for drinking:

You've got the owner buying you drinks, you've got customers buying you drinks, sometimes it helps, you need to get into the mood, like sometimes in the zone, if you can't get into the zone naturally, then you have a drink so you can understand the customer, cause, sometimes they're weird, so you sort of need a couple drinks.

In some bars, managers and customers define drinking alcohol while working as a normative behaviour for bartenders. The amount and frequency of alcohol consumption while on the job depends largely on the type of bar that the bartender is working in.

Some bartenders explained that management policies prohibit drinking on the job. It is important to note, however, that despite such policies, all the bartenders report that most managers are flexible with regard to the “no drinking on the job” rule, providing the bartender does not become inebriated. Drinking on the job is an example of behaviour that, by conventional standards, is deviant. However, due to its acceptance by the members of the bar subculture, bartenders learn that drinking with others is an acceptable aspect of the job.

In addition to drinking while working, all bartenders interviewed indicate that they drink alcohol after most or all shifts. Bartenders associate with other members of the bar subculture (e.g., other bartenders, wait staff, kitchen staff, managers, customers, etc.) after work, and drinking alcohol is a regular part of this association. Rich explains that,

most bartenders drink after work. Of the jobs that I’ve had, I would say that 90% of bartenders that I work with will have a drink after work, at the bar they work at...It’s usually staff, staff sitting around together after work, drinking.

During a shift, bartenders are exposed to daytime workers who use alcohol after work as a way to “unwind.” They are not exposed to daytime workers who go home after work and do not drink. Thus the bartender interacts with a group that views alcohol consumption as normative behaviour. In addition, the late hours associated with working the nightshift limit the bartenders’ interactions since most daytime workers are already asleep when the bartender completes his shift. Bartenders, therefore, associate with members of the bar subculture who view after-hour alcohol use as an acceptable behaviour. From my personal experience, drinking after work is very much associated with bartending. It is not uncommon

for some bartenders to continue drinking at someone's house after the bar is locked up for the night.

Through differential association, bartenders may learn bar scams. The bartenders interviewed for this study differed in years of experience (e.g., 4 months, 8 years, 10 years, etc.) and type of bar work experience (e.g., family restaurants, downtown nightclubs, neighbourhood taverns, etc.). Despite these differences in age and work experience, all of the bartenders possessed knowledge of a multitude of bar scams or hustles. Bar scams took a variety of forms including: (1) serving free drinks over the bar; (2) over-estimating the cost of the rounds; (3) including a 15% tip on a customer's credit card without the customer's knowledge; (4) not ringing in pop, juice and/or liquor and instead pocketing the money; (5) skimming the amount of alcohol put into certain drinks; (6) selling their own alcohol over the bar; and (7) stealing alcohol and money directly from the bar.

Most bartenders learn their scams from other experienced bartenders, managers and/or family members. Cory learned his first bar scam from a family member who had been bartending for years:

...first one [bar scam] I ever learned was actually from my older brother. The easiest way to make extra money, is from draft...From draft beer...a lot of bars don't have counters or draft readers to give them an accurate amount of what has been used, so if for every ten pitchers you sell, if you put the money from one of them in your pocket, chances are the bar is never going to know.

Another bartender credits a manager for teaching him how to 'short pour' customers:

...short pouring customers...It was actually broken down to me by one of the old system managers at [Bar Name]...The way a short pour comes in, the way he described it to us, was that, if you've got two people sitting at

the bar, say person A, is tipping you a buck, a buck-fifty say two dollars a drinks, and person B is tipping you a quarter a drink, or not tipping you at all, with no cost to the bar, you can give customer A who's tipping well, an ounce and a half in his drink, and customer B who's not tipping, half an ounce in his drink. Or in the same respect, if you give them half an ounce each, then you've got a whole ounce to drink yourself that the bar will never even miss...Because they still got the money for it and they're not missing any inventory.

New bartenders work with experienced bartenders who either directly teach them these scams or provide a model they can observe and imitate. Along with the physical mechanics of the scam, bartenders also learn definitions (e.g., neutralizations and/or justifications) that lessen the deviant nature of the scams. Examples of these definitions will be examined in more detail in the Definitions section of this analysis. All the bartenders interviewed report that they believe bar scams to be a common practise in bars. Most, however, maintained that they had rarely engaged in such scams. Some of them also noted that it is becoming more difficult to scam the bar because of the advances in computerized register systems.

Association with members of the subculture is an important aspect of the learning process because through such interaction, they are exposed to reinforcements, models, and definitions (Akers, 1998:65). Differential association is one of the key underlying concepts when examining the learning process of any behaviour. It is also through this association that differential reinforcement, imitation, and definitions come to exist.

Differential Reinforcement

Bartenders learn to bartend through a series of positive and negative reinforcements that come predominantly from interacting with members of the bar subculture. In his interview, Paul cites primarily experiencing negative reinforcements.

Well it was, it was a bunch of old betties, they were all old waitresses or all old bartenders that had been there for fifteen or sixteen years. Miserable, grumpy, pushing me. You know, if you don't get the job done, get out of my way and I'll do it. Belittling me. But to avoid being belittled, I learned faster. You know, you'd be handed a large chit of drinks and [snapping] you'd be having to get it done real fast because you didn't have a choice... Well then they'd, you know, bitch and moan. I didn't need that. I don't like people complaining. I like to get the work done so they don't complain... It's changed over the years because I've taken less shit.

Trial and Error and Reinforcement

Most of the bartenders who participated in this study note that while learning occurs through interaction with other members of the bar subculture, the skills learned most often were acquired through some forms of self-learning, usually through the process of trial and error. The majority of these bartenders found the occupation to be extremely stressful during the initial learning phase. One bartender commented, "I didn't handle it very well at first. I would get very stressed out. When I get stressed out, I tend to panic." Areas of stress included dealing with the physical demands of the job and learning to deal with difficult customers, managers, and fellow staff members. More experienced bartenders explained that through trial and error, they developed techniques to effectively deal with these stresses (e.g., time and space management). Fred explains how working hard was his method of dealing with the stress:

Basically, I just work as hard as I can and just do everything as quick and as efficient as I can and those are the times when I don't always get to talk to my customers for a few minutes, which I, which I'm not happy with but you know, if I'm too busy to talk, I'm too busy to talk and people are usually pretty understanding when they see how hard I'm working, they're not pushing and saying hey you, get over here.

Another bartender noted that learning to deal with difficult servers is important to decreasing stress:

Well I learned how to work with waitresses, how to play them, how to ignore them when necessary. I've learned how to deal with my anger and my impatience in a way where if somebody is incompetent I say, okay [bartenders name], you know...

All the bartenders in this study developed techniques from their experience in the occupation that make their jobs easier. When trial and error results in positive consequences, the behaviours are adopted and used again; whereas, behaviours that result in negative consequences are likely to be modified or discarded. For example, as a new bartender, I would start my shift earlier to allow me sufficient time to stock and organize the bar. Thus, I was adequately prepared for the physical demands of a busy rush in that less time was spent looking for things (e.g., blenders, bar knife, can opener, etc.) and stocking beer, leaving me more time to deal with the customer and staff demands. Failure to be prepared would produce stress as a result of being unable to keep up with the physical demands of the job.

While it appears that a new bartender learns on his own how to minimize stress and do his job, the reinforcements that let him know whether he is on the right track come predominately from interaction with the various members of the bar subculture. The bartender's position is very social in nature and as a result, interactions with others in his work environment exposes him to cues that reinforce his behaviour. In line with social learning theory, members of the bar subculture are predominantly responsible for either positively or negatively reinforcing the bartender's behaviour. Bartenders' behaviours may result in such outcomes as increased gratuities, praise from customers, bosses, and/or staff members. On the other hand, other staff members, bosses, and/or customers may negatively reinforce less desirable behaviours with ridicule, confrontation, and/or

undesirable future work schedules. Social interaction plays a large role in learning to bartend.

Substance Use as a Reinforcement

One common example of reinforcement associated with bartending is substance use. All the bartenders in this study stated that they consume alcohol both on the job and after hours in the bar. The degree and frequency of drinking on the job largely depends on management's policy regarding such behaviour. As one bartender explains:

Well it's different, it depends where I work. I worked at an Irish pub and we were completely not allowed [to drink], and I liked it. I didn't drink at all... While I was working. Even afterwards people would just lock up and leave like it was a fucking factory job. Um, when I managed a bar, I self-regulated because I didn't want people to think I was drinking while I was working, so I didn't for the respect, and uh, I like it. And afterwards I would have drinks with the staff and stuff and that was fun. And so, like by that time, you only have three or four and you're done, and that's what normal people do. They go to work then they have a couple drinks, that's why we're in business, and then they leave... at the Irish pub cause it wasn't allowed and I'd get fired for fucking drinking... I didn't do it at all... the temptation wasn't there... But now, currently the temptation is there and encouraged, plus you got the other bartenders saying "here I made this mistake [drink made out of error that will not be sold and likely will be disposed of] have it"... or... "hey I made you a drink"...

Some of the bartenders viewed drinking on the job as a social reward for doing the job well. In some bars, managers/owners reward bartenders with alcohol for their efforts behind the bar. As Wiley says, "the boss buys me a shot, that means I'm doing my job right, you know. Like he's happy that I'm there. It means he's glad I'm working there. Because I'm doing a good job, you know." As a bartender, I have experienced and observed situations where bartenders who do not drink are pressured to do so, and failing to drink led to ridicule by managers and fellow bartenders (i.e., negative reinforcement or

punishment). In this way, drinking on a regular basis while at work becomes normative behaviour for bartenders.

Drinking after a shift is even more common among the bartenders interviewed for this study. Alcohol consumption after work is both a social and nonsocial reward. The bartenders indicate that, more often than not, they drink after work. Reasons for drinking after work include: to socialize with fellow staff; to help unwind and deal with stress associated with the occupation; to sleep after working all night; and to participate in after-hours parties. Some bartenders express concern about potential alcohol dependency. One bartender freely revealed that the occupation has turned him into “an alcoholic.” Another bartender expressed concern about his increased alcohol consumption since starting the job. Despite the fear of alcohol dependency, all the bartenders interviewed still consume alcohol either during and/or after work hours.

Sex as a Reinforcement

Many bartenders will flirt to obtain sex. All bartenders interviewed have stories of being sexually propositioned by customers and staff while on the job and most had acted on such propositions. Of the bartenders who have has sexual relations with customers and/or other staff members, two reported engaging in sexual activity in the bar itself.

This one night I was in the bar, this forty something lady was in there all night and I was serving her and you know, she was pretty cute for a 40 year old, I didn't have a girlfriend, I was you know partying too in the bar, it all depends on the night...And it depends on the crowd too. So she pulls me over and I went up to her and she said basically, “How you doing” and I went “Great” and she said “What are you doing after work” and I said “What are you doing right now” and she goes “why” and I said “Because in the back there's a handicap bathroom that's got a lock on the door” and she says “which one is it?” and I said “first one on the right” so she went in there and I followed in there...She gave me head in the

bathroom.[laugh]...And then you know, I go back behind the bar and I serve more drinks...It happens all the time [Wiley].

According to social learning theory, sex can be both a social reinforcement and/or a nonsocial reinforcement. Flirting may be a social reinforcement in that customers and staff members are members of the bartender's primary social group and therefore reward the bartender's flirting with reciprocal flirtation or sexual relations. However, sex and flirting produces positive physical arousal that may be considered a nonsocial reinforcement. Either way, sex is a positive reward associated with bartending and is an important aspect of understanding how a bartender learns certain behaviours associated with his occupation and subculture.

Money as a Reinforcement

With the exception of two younger, less experienced bartenders, all of the bartenders interviewed claimed that the primary reason (or reward) for working the night shift was the potential to earn more money than working any other shift. Of the two younger bartenders who did not identify money as their initial reason for bartending, they both report money as their second reason for bartending. In social learning theory, money represents a social reinforcement. The bar subculture largely revolves around money and many of the learned behaviours that bartenders engage in are used to increase the amount of money they receive.

Bartenders engage in a variety of practices to increase their tips, such as techniques involving service, manipulation, and theft. The service techniques they use to increase tips included knowledge of the customer's name and drink, prompt, quality service, and interacting with the customers. One bartender illustrates the emphasis on customer service:

I think that customer service is the big thing. My best, best trait is memorization...It's like oh, okay. There was a time when I was at the [Bar Name] and there was a guy came in right when I started there and he ordered a gin and tonic. This was six years ago...A year and a half later this guy came in and I handed him his drink and he didn't even ask for it. And I tell you, the man was just fawning over the whole attention thing. He felt remembered and recognized that I would remember him.

Bartenders identified customer service, either through customer recognition or interactions as a powerful tool to increase tips. Gord explains that a bartender must also learn to be sensitive to his clients' needs:

A lot of people I know they're name, I say hey how you doing, I shake their hand, I talk about what ever is going on, I pretend to like them, they love it...Other people, actually it's women, cause it's new that they're into the business now, and you like the old school idea that women shouldn't be in the bars you know, whatever, when some women come into the bar, they tell me not to say their name when they're with other people because, uh, because it looks bad. You understand me? Like uh, Shannon comes in and I go hey Shannon, and she's with a client, a business partner, whatever, and the next day, she's like, yeah, when I come in with somebody, don't tell me my name. Because they think I hang out there and that's kind of bad idea for chicks you know...But when a guy come in, it's like hey Norm, and his buddy's like hey you're pretty important, instead of you're a drunk.

This bartender illustrates how service techniques may vary from client to client. The female customer negatively reinforced the bartender by requesting he take a different approach to her when she is with other people (e.g., clients, bosses, etc.). Through this interaction the bartender learns that overt recognition of her, as in the above situation, is inappropriate and thus, modifies his service technique. By doing so, he assures that his customer will be happy and likely express her gratitude in the form of a tip. Conversely, the bartender also learns that overt recognition is acceptable with male clientele such positive reinforcement increases the likelihood that such behaviour will be practiced again in future interaction.

In addition to service techniques used by bartenders to increase their tips, some bartenders will manipulate their clientele into leaving more money. Bartenders may try to increase sales or “upsell” to ensure a larger tip. For example, a bartender may suggest premium liquor to increase the cost of a client’s overall bill. As a result, the client is more likely to leave a larger gratuity. Other bartenders exercise methods of hustling by “over-changing” customers, which involves giving the customer back a large quantity of coins as change rather than dollar bills. By doing this, the bartender hopes that the client will take the bills back and be more inclined to leave the change behind as a tip. Holden describes one hustling process:

Most people will feel guilty more or less if they order a \$3.50 drink, they give you a \$20 and you give them like, you know, a ten dollar bill, a couple loonies, a couple of toonies, and quarters, they’re going to feel bad sweeping all that change off the bar. Chances are they’re going to leave you at least 50 cents, a buck-fifty, a buck, whatever.

Bartenders may also engage in cash scams as a means to increase the amount of money they earn per shift. Cash scams can include: (1) giving away free drinks; (2) giving your tipping customers extra alcohol and short changing customers who are not tipping well; and (3) over estimating the cost of a round of drinks and keeping the extra money as a tip. Although very few of the bartenders admitted to regularly participating in cash scams, all were able to outline them in detail. For the most part, bartenders credited other bartenders with showing or teaching them cash scam techniques. Some bartenders indicated that they did not engage in cash scams because of “personal morals.” Others abstained from participating in such scams because it would “violate loyalty to the boss,” or because they feared they would get caught. Although the bartenders in this

study believe cash scams are a common aspect of the occupation, they believe that they are inherently wrong.

[Y]ou don't fuck the boss, and that's the most important thing...I think it's...the only guarantee way that it can work...but really the only...way to monitor is self-discipline. Like the only thing that's stopping you, is you. Because every single time you take a drink, and every single time you take money, you can ring it in differently, like scam or wrong or backwards or whatever, you can short them a drink. Every single time you do that you can fuck somebody. Either the customer or the owner or whatever. Every time. So, just to free your mind from guilt, you just don't do it any time and so you keep your job. But also, you know, in the long run it doesn't pay off. But the only one stopping you is you [Gord].

In addition to cash scams and hustles, bartenders may also use flirtation as a means to increase tips. Most bartenders interviewed flirt with female clientele to increase income. Cory outlines the importance of flirting for a bartender:

When it comes to the women...it comes down to making sure you look good when you go into work, being nice to them [female customer], flirting with them, joking around with them. I think probably with bartending you have to be one of the biggest flirts in the world...you know, as Freud would have said, sex. Everything revolves around sex. Especially when they've been drinking a bit and they tend to be a little more amorous...a little more open to suggestion [and]...basically if they want you to look favourably on them, they're going to leave you a good tip. They're going to tip a little more.

As this bartender illustrates, flirting is a very important aspect of his role as a bartender.

Flirting with women who have been consuming alcohol is one technique that this bartender uses to increase the amount of tips he will earn during his shift.

For the bartenders interviewed, money as a social reward appeared to outweigh all the identified negative consequences associated with bartending the night shift.

Therefore, the bartender's socialization into the bar subculture is largely reinforced by the acquisition of money. For example, bartenders learn that flirting with certain customers and/or staff members is acceptable if it is reinforced with money. Bar scams are

justifiable if they result in a quick, easy payoff in the form of money. To further exemplify the importance of money to the bartenders of this study, the bartenders give a number of negative consequences associated with working the nightshift, all of which are outweighed by the potential for them to earn large amounts of money.

There are a number of negative consequences that bartenders associate with their job. Some of the bartenders interviewed report that working the nightshift seriously impedes their involvement with daytime activities. As Paul explained:

[Y]ou're tired from the night before so you sleep in, you wake up and figure you only have five hours before work, what am I gonna do? You know, you get up, you get groggy, you just sit around and flip through the channels. You go rent a movie and that's about it and I hated that [this bartender felt that his days were wasted lazing around, being unmotivated, and resting for his nightshift].

Other bartenders note that the late hours associated with the night shift hamper efforts to maintain relationships with family and friends outside the bar. As a result, if they want a social life they are forced to associate and develop friendships with members of the bar subculture since they maintain similar hours.

Bartenders spend much of their time at work associating with drunken clientele and other socially undesirable people. Some of the bartenders have had their lives threatened. One of the bartenders in this study talked about being physically attacked by an unruly customer.

I mean there's this psycho lady that we talked about earlier...She's pretty bad...She was bothering another customer, and it just got to the point where it's, "you've got to go." And then there was that whole yellow belly scene, where she was actually reaching over the bar to try and hit me [Cory].

Several of the bartenders interviewed, therefore, found regular interaction with these types of customers to be a negative consequence of working the nightshift.

In addition to dealing with drunks and other social undesirables, several bartenders reported that the nightshift has negative physical effects on their bodies. One reported experiencing sleep difficulties even on his nights off. An older bartender expressed concern over the lack of future financial security associated with the occupation, "it's an easy job to get stuck into because the money is so great and it doesn't give you a lot of drive to do anything else but before you know it, you're older and you don't have any kind of a pension or a retirement plan with bartending." Despite all the negative consequences associated with bartending and in particular, working the nightshift, gratuities in the form of money were the main reason for doing the job. When weighing the negative consequences against the positive consequences associated with bartending the nightshift, Steven noted, "but, you know there's sacrifice to be made and, the real, the real motivator, no question about it is money."

Imitation

Social learning theory addresses learning new behaviours through the process of imitation. Akers (1985) maintains that imitation "is more important in the initial acquisition and performance of novel behavior than in the maintenance of behavior patterns once established, although...observation of models is also involved in the occurrence of already learned behavior" (47). A number of bartenders interviewed rely on imitation during the early stages of learning the occupation. They imitate members in their primary reference group (e.g., more experienced bartenders and/or bosses), as well as actors in a secondary group (e.g., actors in movies). Various bartenders report that they learned the occupation largely through their own interpersonal skills and personal experience and observations while working.

Akers (1998) identified the importance of secondary groups (e.g., movie actors) when examining sources of imitation and models. Some bartenders may begin their occupation already possessing bar related skills and/or behaviours that they have observed in movies. Most of the younger bartenders point out the impact that the media has on their decision to bartend. As Fred notes:

I enjoy making drinks, you always see these guys on TV, like the cool bartender like Tom Cruise in uh, *Cocktail* and I'm like an eight or nine year old kid watching that and thinking oh look how cool that guy is, and now I'm bartending and it's pretty cool when people say oh what do you do, oh I'm a bartender, oh, like you know, you know what I mean?

Another bartender throws bottles or “flares” for entertainment behind the bar; a practise he first observed Tom Cruise doing in the movie Cocktail. According to Akers (1998) the media provides people with a number of models to imitate. Although the members of the secondary reference group can be important in this learning process, social learning theory suggests that the primary reference group (e.g., more experienced bartenders, bosses, etc.) is the most vital source for imitation during the acquisition of new behaviour.

The most influential models new bartenders imitate are those that comprise their primary reference group. Bartenders spend a great deal of time interacting and observing members from this group. Quite often, newer bartenders may imitate a senior bartender and/or boss's behaviour when learning how to behave in a novel situation.

Experienced bartenders are members of the primary reference group that provide sources of imitation for new bartenders and aid in their adapting to the bar subculture. Gord talked about one such bartender who had a tremendous influence on him and his learning to bartend:

Billy was the sweets man, this guy was the master. I still call, like, he taught me all these things but I just watched him and how he works with people and how he always leaves you with a smile, walking backwards getting somebody else a drink, and doing certain things certain ways.

More experienced bartenders can act as models for bartenders to imitate when learning new behaviours associated with tending bar. These behaviours may involve customer service, as well as technical aspects of the job. Through observing more senior bartenders, the new bartender learns what behaviours result in positive reinforcement. As a result, they can choose which behaviours they wish to imitate based on the expected consequences.

In line with social learning theory, bartenders will more likely imitate other bartenders when the anticipated result is positive rather than negative. One bartender explains,

[T]here's some good examples and some bad examples that you can take from other workers that you work with...Okay, let's say it's a Saturday night and we've got four bartenders on and the place is packed and it's my first week on the job and I see other bartenders with their elbows on the bar staring into some girl's eyes talking to her, but meanwhile, the whole bar is packed and there's people waving money all around. Now, I don't know about that person, but I need to get paid, so I'm going to serve as many drinks as I possibly can and in a timely manner...So, this example, like I wouldn't do that. That's how you learn, like from other people the way they go about things and I take it like okay, I don't want to do that because the end result will be less money for me...

As this quote demonstrates, bartenders may individually define what constitutes a reward. It is important to note that at the time of our interview, this bartender was happily cohabitating with his girlfriend and therefore, behaviours that potentially resulted in rewards of sex, such as flirting with bar patrons or fellow staff members, did not appeal to him. Instead, this bartender was more likely to imitate behaviours that would result in pleasing customers (i.e., prompt service) as a

means to make more tips. Thus, the bartender himself may individually define what constitutes a reward and will be more inclined to imitate behaviours that will likely result in rewards that are important to him. Whether behaviour is imitated will depend on the characteristics of the model (e.g., experienced bartenders or respected bosses), the behaviour itself, and the perceived consequence of the observed behaviour. Behaviour that provides the most positive outcome (e.g., large gratuity) for the individual bartender will more likely to be imitated.

Bosses (managers and/or owners) are another source within the primary reference group that may act as models for new bartenders. For instance, Wiley reported that he learned how to manage his time and space behind the bar by imitating his boss:

[H]e's very task oriented I guess you would say. Like if there are multiple things that need to be done he's very good at like, what am I trying to say, like managing it properly. Like if you've got to get six or seven drinks out at a time...he's pretty good at that, and I seem to have caught on to that and it seems to have caught on to other people too.

Reflecting on my personal experience as a new bartender, I also recall imitating one of my managers, in particular, how he approached and dealt with difficult personalities in the bar. Whether the situation involved an upset staff member or a customer, he always tried through humour to maintain a relaxed, light approach that seemed to put the other party at ease. From seeing the positive results he would get with this approach, I began to imitate a similar approach involving humour when dealing with unhappy customers or staff members. A new bartender may imitate any individual (member of primary and/or secondary group) whose behaviour leads to results that he deems favourable.

Definitions

According to Akers (1998), definitions “are orientations, rationalizations, definitions of the situation, and other attitudes that label the commission of an act as right or wrong, good or bad, desirable or undesirable, justified or unjustified” (76). Definitions may come in the form of categories and/or neutralizations. The bartender uses them in most instances to make sense of his role and the bar subculture. Through acquiring the appropriate definitions, the bartender becomes more able to perform his job. This study uncovered a number of definitions bartenders learn and use when doing their job.

Definitions favourable to certain behaviours exist in virtually every aspect of the bartender’s social world. These definitions take the form of neutralizations and justifications that allow bartenders to engage in behaviours (deviant and non-deviant) associated with bartending. According to Akers (1985), these definitions or “discriminative stimuli signal the actor that when they are present he or she can expect reinforcement” (49). Learning about various neutralizations and justifications occurs through interactions with the various members of the bar subculture. Similar to learning bartending techniques, bartenders learn definitions through differential association, differential reinforcement, and imitation that facilitate the performance of their job.

Definitions in the Form of Categories

Bartenders use definitions to categorize customer behaviour. By categorizing the customer, the bartender is better able to anticipate what behaviour to expect from clientele. Depending on the category the customer is given, one interviewee uses one of two distinct approaches to neutralize the effects of dealing with inebriated customers:

...the younger kids...what I call a *weekend warrior*, drinkers that don’t know what the fuck they’re doing, those people like that, you have to

control. You need to be sturdy and order them in a sense. Like take their drink away and leave, and you get the bouncer over...but 99 times out of a hundred, there's never going to be a problem. And most people don't want a problem. They don't want conflict anyway...Now, in this place that I work now, these are *veteran drinkers*. I don't mean that they're hard drinkers, like they're hard core, pounding them back all the time, but I mean veteran drinkers who, you know they're thirty-something, they've been drinking for 15 years, and older people, you know, 20 years, they've been through all this stuff. They know. They're almost self-regulated. They know when it's time to go...And most people will cut themselves off...I use the soft hand, the velvet glove. You know, what I do is I just pop a water in front of them, sometimes I give them something to eat, which helps a lot. A lot of times you either eat and you sober up or you eat and you feel tired and you're like fuck I better go. You know what I mean?...So I'm fucking with your mind but you don't know that I am...Because there's a lot of pride involved. Especially with alcohol, and you get your attitude going and then your pride starts going and you're like who the fuck are you...I never have that problem, because I never start that problem. It takes two to tango. You know if I'm not gonna fight you, you can't fight me...I had this guy last night he was there from like uh, Christ, from 5 pm to like midnight I think, 11 or midnight. Like and he's drinking about two bottles of beer an hour easily. He's not pounding them but he's not stopping...he's drinking and drinking and he was rocked...Well he started to get all slurry and cross and like I knew it was time, but um, what I do is, uh, I just ignore him for a while. And hopefully, you know make sure he pays his bill and maybe goes. People get the hint, or they get tired. Anyway, my other bartender comes up to me and says, hey that guy's fucked up, we're gonna have to cut him off. I'm like ya, don't worry. But about a half hour later, he paid his bill and he left. And I asked his friend, 'hey, what happened to your buddy?' and he says 'oh, he had to go home'. He knew. Now that guy is coming back next week and I'm gonna say, "hey how you doing?" And I'm gonna give him the same bottle of beer and uh, we're gonna be laughing.

This bartender interacts with different types of drunken customers based on how he defines them. "Veteran drinkers" and "weekend warriors" illustrate definitions that have emerged through interaction with other members in the subculture and are sustained through positive reinforcement (e.g., "that guy is coming back next week"). These are examples of how the bartender is able to make sense of dealing with an array of drunken clients.

Most of the bartenders in this study have developed definitions that help categorize various customers and their tipping behaviours. Some bartenders define “service industry workers” as fantastic tippers, and “young Americans” as poor tippers.

Steven explains:

I know the staff [service industry workers] that come into the bar are good tippers because, I know they get treated very well by their clients. If you get treated well by your clients, you’re going to be a good tipper. Bartenders and waitresses are the best tippers you’re going to find.

Reinforcement in the form of higher gratuities (positive reinforcement), can therefore result in a bartender viewing other service industry workers as premium clients.

Many of the bartenders interviewed indicate that they feel disdain for “young Americans.” This disdain is largely a result of the poor tipping behaviours of younger American customers. Paul notes, “if they’re American and under twenty or under twenty-one, they’re going to be bad tippers.” In order to rationalize the low tipping behaviours of this category of clientele, one bartender noted that, “they think maybe it’s in, in the drink prices and stuff that we’re already getting our gratuities, but that’s not the case.” Given the importance of money to bartenders, “young Americans” is a category of clientele that is used to help bartenders explain an unpleasant aspect (e.g., low gratuities) of their social world.

Neutralizing Definitions

Bartenders not only use definitions to categorize customers, they also use them to neutralize deviance associated with various aspects of their occupation. As Akers (2000) notes,

Neutralizing definitions favor the commission of crime [or deviant acts] by justifying or excusing it. They view the act as something that is probably undesirable but, given the situation, is nonetheless all right, justified, excusable,

necessary, or not really that bad to do. The concept of neutralizing definitions in social learning theory incorporates the notions of verbalizations, rationalizations, techniques of neutralizations, accounts, disclaimers, and moral disengagement (77).

Through interaction with others and personal experience, bartenders learn definitions that neutralize the deviance associated with drinking during and after work, as well as engaging in bar scams or hustles. The use of neutralizing definitions allows bartenders to delimit deviance associated with drinking during and after work hours. According to most of the bartenders interviewed, neutralizing definitions favourable to drinking on the job include accepting drinks from customers or bar owners, providing you do not get “drunk.” Bartenders also identify a number of neutralizing definitions that normalize drinking after work. These definitions neutralize deviance associated with drinking after work when the drinking was to “relax” or “calm down,” or to “socialize” with fellow staff and customers, or to consume “dead soldiers” (mistakes made during the shift). Despite the many neutralizing definitions that are used to normalize drinking alcohol, one negative definition involving alcohol consumption was noted by at least one bartender:

Alcoholism...I’m an alcoholic...a lot of alcohol is consumed by bartenders...Because it’s there, it’s right in your face. And maybe it relaxes you a bit while you’re working, you have fun and...it’s generally free you know. Like, I had one job that I lost because I drank too much, because I was working in the service industry and I was partying too much. I lost a job because I went to work with alcohol on my breath. Like that’s a major problem.

In line with social learning theory, bartenders adopt definitions favourable to consuming alcohol over definitions unfavourable to drinking.

Definitions may also be used by bartenders to neutralize the deviance of bar scams in certain circumstances. For instance, one bartender explains that it is all right to “short change” young non-tipping Americans on the exchange of U.S. currency. Another

bartender reports that skimming the amount of alcohol going into a low-tipping customer's drinks may be acceptable in order to over-pour alcohol into a good tipping customer's drinks, providing you are not stealing from your boss and all liquor sales equal out at the end of a shift. In addition to learning these definitions from personal experience and other experienced bartenders, some bartenders credit managers for some of their learning experiences. For example, Cory felt that he learned to rationalize "short pours" from an old manager when the manager told the bar staff, "if you could do it without his knowledge, then he doesn't really care." Given that bartenders in this study viewed bar scams as inherently wrong, they were exposed to definitions that downplayed the deviant nature of engaging in them. As the above examples illustrate, stealing is wrong, unless you can neutralize doing so (e.g., stealing alcohol or money from non-tipping customer).

Bartenders learn the definitions necessary to categorize customers and their behaviour, as well as definitions to neutralize deviant aspects of their job. These definitions are learned through interaction with members of the bar subculture (e.g., more experienced bartenders, managers, etc.) and personal experience. Learning these definitions is necessary for bartenders to make sense of certain aspects of their job, as well as to alleviate guilt associated with engaging in certain deviant behaviours. Through learning and internalizing these definitions, bartenders are able to become more comfortable with their role in the bar subculture.

Achieving the Zone

As the bartender learns his role in the bar subculture through processes of differential association, differential reinforcement, and imitation, he may experience what

some bartenders refer to as the “zone” or “being on fire.” With the exception of one young bartender, who had only been working for a few months, all of the bartenders interviewed in this study could attribute meaning to “being in the zone.” Achieving the zone as a bartender is equivalent to mastering one’s occupation. One bartender explained that, with the exception of a “fighter pilot,” bartending is one of the only jobs conducive to achieving the zone. According to some bartenders, achieving the zone involves a feeling of control over an incredibly busy bar environment.

When you’re in the zone, you say, hey wait a minute to this one chick, I’ll be right there honey, and you go boom, boom, boom, you make about forty-five drinks, you don’t fuck up one, and if you do, you flip a bottle and make something else, and you’re getting ice and you’re running around, and maybe you’re sweating a little bit but you’re looking cool and you come right up to the thing and you’re how can I help you, and you’re really calm. And you pretend that you’re giving her time. Like, you’re giving her attention, but you’re not giving her time. ‘Oh, can I have this, this, and this?’ Sure, and I run along, and boom, boom, boom, damn. In the mean time, I got the dishwasher running, I got the waitress getting me fucking ice, I got the manager getting me more change cause I’m making too much money, I got the band playing, turning on the radio, I just flip the lights on, I’m rocking, and I am in control of everything [Gord].

When in the zone, bartenders may feel they are working “beyond most people’s capabilities” and maintain that they are “one step ahead” of everyone in the bar.

To achieve the zone, a bartender must acquire the requisite experience and knowledge of his surroundings and other aspects of the job (e.g., social aspects) and be able to handle a busy bar. Less experienced bartenders may flounder when confronted with the demands of a busy bar. As Wiley noted:

I would think that it would take them [new bartenders] a while to get there. Because they would have to learn, they would have to learn enough where they don’t have to ask any questions from anybody else. You need to know your drinks, you need to know how to make them, you need to know how to use the computer. As far as a new bartender would go, it would be constantly like, slow with the computer or like, what goes in this

or and vice versa. But you could get there. If you wanted to get there you could get there.

Holden explained that new bartenders who lack bartending experience and knowledge are more likely to get “flustered” during a busy time and as a result, are unable to achieve the zone. Through the processes of differential association, differential reinforcement, and imitation, bartenders learn the occupation (deviant and conventional behaviours) necessary for achieving the zone.

Subheading Summary

Like any occupation, bartenders must learn the various aspects of their job. From the perspective of an outsider, tending bar involves making drinks, socializing, and having fun. These conventional perceptions are true but only account for part of the job of male nightshift bartenders. As outlined in this chapter, bartenders are also exposed to a variety of deviant behaviours such as substance abuse, sexual promiscuity, techniques of manipulation and theft, and excessive “nightlife” involvement.

Akers’ (1998) social learning theory was used to explain how bartenders come to exist and behave in the bar subculture. Social learning theory processes, such as differential association, differential reinforcement, imitation, and definition acquisition help us understand how bartenders become socialized into a semi-deviant social world or subculture. The socialization experiences of bartenders in this study provide evidence that all behaviour (deviant or conventional) is learned through interaction with members of the bar subculture. More experienced bartenders, wait staff, management, customers, and actors in the media contribute to these bartenders learning experiences.

Observations, personal experience and specific instructions were also means by which they acquire relevant behaviours.

Through the process of differential association, the bartender is introduced to the members of the bar subculture and the behaviours and definitions associated with the occupation. The bartender learns, through interaction with others, his role, position, and duties. Bartenders seem to hold relatively high social positions when compared to other staff members. This higher position was reinforced by all members of the bar subculture. As a bartender, owners, managers, and customers acted more like friends than bosses or clients.

Through interaction with members of the bar subculture, bartenders learn that consumption of alcohol is an acceptable behaviour associated with the occupation. New bartenders are exposed to individuals (e.g., other staff members, managers, customers, etc.) view drinking as normative. Drinking alcohol can, therefore, become a prevalent aspect of the bartending occupation.

Similar findings exist involving bar scams and hustles. Findings in this study indicate that bartenders learn various bar scams and hustles through interacting with members of the bar subculture, including more experienced bartenders and managers. Through differential association the bartender learn the techniques involved in “pulling off” a scam, as well as neutralizing definitions that help rationalize engaging in the deviant activity.

Differential reinforcement is another learning process that new bartenders experience when being socialized into their occupation. Bartenders learn and adopt behaviours that are more likely to have consequences they individually deem as rewarding. What constitutes a reward may vary from bartenders to bartender. For most of the bartenders in this study money is the most important reward. The bartenders,

therefore, learn and adopt behaviours that increase gratuities. Since money represents the most important reward or positive consequence, some bartenders in this study learn to rationalize engaging in the manipulation of customers as a way to increase their tips. Manipulation techniques may include such things as “over changing” a customer in an effort to receive larger tips and giving free drinks to tipping customers. Likewise, bartenders admitted to flirting with female clientele to maximize their tips.

In addition to flirting with clientele for higher tips, some bartender may flirt in order to achieve another positive reward, sexual activity. Sex and sexuality is also a large aspect of the bartender’s social world. Sex and sexuality may take the subtle form of flirtation or more aggressive propositions. All of the bartenders had examples of customers and/or staff members sexually propositioning them while working and most of them admitted to engaging in sexual activity with clientele and other staff members.

Drinking alcohol also became synonymous with rewards associated with the job. Alcohol consumption was viewed as a way to socialize with members of the bar subculture during and after work. Alcohol represented a reward for a job well done when supplied by managers, customers, and owners. Conversely, failing to drink alcohol may act as a negative reinforcement. Some bartenders admitted to feeling obligated to drink and experienced ridicule by members of the bar subculture when failing to do so.

The bartenders identified many negative consequences associated with bartending the nightshift. Some of these negatives consequences included disrupted sleep patterns, problems resulting from physical demands of the job, difficulty maintaining relationships outside the bar, and alcoholism. Despite the many negative consequences of bartending

the nightshift, gratuities in the form of money served as the primary motivation for continuing in the occupation.

The process of imitation is another way new bartenders learn their occupation. In the beginning, bartenders may imitate models in the bar subculture. These models may be more experienced bartenders, managers, and/or customers. Bartenders may imitate how others interact with clientele or how to manage their time and space more efficiently. In addition to members of the bartender's primary reference group, several bartenders indicated that they imitated actors in the media (secondary reference group) such as, Tom Cruise in Cocktail. This was especially true of the younger less experienced bartenders.

New bartenders, when first starting out, must also learn relevant definitions necessary to understanding their job. Relevant definitions may come in the form of categories and neutralizations. Bartenders may typify or categorize their clientele when determining how to approach them, whether to stop serving them alcohol and to anticipate tipping potential. For example, many of the bartenders believe young American clientele are the worst tippers whereas other service industry employees are seen as excellent tippers.

Neutralizing definitions develop through interaction with others in the bar subculture to help alleviate the deviance associated with certain behaviours. These definitions exist to normalize or neutralize the guilt associated with behaviours such as drinking during and after work and engaging in cash scams. For example, bartenders learn that drinking during work is acceptable when they are just consuming a mistake, and providing they do not become inebriated. Similarly, bartenders may rationalize short-changing a low tipping client or under-pouring a server's client's drinks in order to

over pour a good tipping bar client. One way in which the deviant nature of such behaviour is neutralized is by making sure the liquor sales equal out at the end of the night. Through social learning processes such as differential association, differential reinforcement, imitation, and definitions acquisition, the bartender learns the various aspects of his role.

Once the new bartender becomes confident and understands the various aspects of his role, he may then experience what some bartenders refer to as “achieving the zone.” The experienced bartender becomes efficient and effective in his job and develops a feeling of control over his environment that newer bartenders have yet to achieve. At this point, the experienced bartender focuses on what the bar subculture deems really important, creating cocktails and collecting tips.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

It is eleven o'clock on a Saturday night and the bar is smoking. The music is blaring and customers are screaming drink orders. Behind that bar stands the bartender, calm, cool, and collected, in constant motion. He has been bartending for several years and has nearly seen and experienced it all. He moves with grace, every action is flawless. Between his lips is a "chit" (paper print out of the servers' drinks), he has three different customers' drink orders in his mind, and many more being shouted at him, and in the midst of all this chaos, he pauses, reaches into his pocket and pulls out a lighter to light a patron's cigarette. Customers and fellow employees look on in amazement as the bartender maintains a smile and thinks to himself, "Man, I'm in the zone."

This study used inductive, qualitative research methods to explore how ten males were socialized into the role of nightshift bartender. It examined the process of learning to be a bartender and the content of what is learned. Although the bartenders reported learning many aspects of the job while working and interacting with other members of the bar subculture, it is unclear whether the males fit the profile of a bartender prior to being hired, or whether they were trained to fit the role. It is most likely a combination of both, in that certain people are attracted to the extroverted, social role of bartenders and are further socialized into the position. The finding of this study, however, cannot fully address this issue.

A semi-structured interview guide was developed to explore the bartender's social world. One weakness identified with the interview guide is that the interviewees were not asked about the skills and personality characteristics (including demeanour) they

possessed prior to bartending. They were not provided an opportunity to discuss whether their bartending skills were a product of their socialization into the role of bartender, which occurred while working in the bar, or if the bar is simply a place they could exercise behaviours they already possessed. This limitation restricts the ability of this study to determine if males fit the profile of bartenders prior to being hired or whether they were trained to fit the role.

Another weakness of this study that should be addressed involves the lack of generalizability due to the sample that was examined. Only ten bartenders were selected for this study in a non-representative manner. By interviewing only male nightshift bartenders, female and dayshift bartenders were excluded. The inclusion of these two groups may have added more insight into whether socialization into the role of bartender occurs during the occupation rather than before. In addition to the exclusion of certain groups of bartenders, the qualitative nature of this study only allowed for ten bartenders to be interviewed. Perhaps a larger sample would have shed more light on the socialization processes of bartenders. A larger sample could be accomplished by using a large-scale qualitative study, or by employing various quantitative methods. The findings of this study, however, were not supposed to be indicative of all bartenders. Rather, the findings represent only an exploration into ten bartenders' unique experiences. For this reason, qualitative research methods (semi-structured interviews and self-reflection) were used.

One difficulty involved in examining socialization into bartending was differentiating between the content (e.g., sex, money, etc.) and the process (e.g., differential association, differential reinforcement, etc.) of socialization, since they

generally coexisted. For example, bartenders, through differential reinforcement (process of socialization) learn behaviours consistent with the acquisition of money (content). As money is acquired in the form of gratuities, the process of socialization is reinforced. This reciprocal relationship between content and process exists in every aspect of the bartender's learning, thus making it difficult to identify one without the other.

Many of the findings in this study are supported by current research examining occupations in the service industry. Similar to research by Walsh and Rosenthal (1981) and Walsh and Taylor (1982), the bartenders of this study appeared to have high levels of self-esteem and job satisfaction. This finding was especially true when talking with the younger bartenders, who seemed to view bartending as a celebrity status. In line with research on identity formation in professional athletes (Adler & Adler, 1989) and medical students (Haas & Shaffir, 1978), some bartenders were exposed to media depictions that defined the occupation as desirable. The bar subculture further reinforced their positions as one that is heavily sought after and respected. Like other occupational hierarchies (Paules, 1991; Prus & Irini, 1980; Spradley and Mann, 1975), bartenders in this study all felt that they held a very high position within the bar, and therefore, viewed themselves as "very important" people.

The bartenders acquired job-related skills and techniques relevant to their occupation, much like waitress (Paules, 1991) and exotic dancers (Lewis, 1998; Thompson & Harred, 1992). They learned various aspects of their job from watching and being exposed to more experienced bartenders and managers, through trial and error and from experiences before starting the job (e.g., watching bar related movies or visiting

bars as a patron). Applying symbolic interactionism, and more specifically, social learning theory, the bartenders in this study learned their occupation through interactions with members of their primary (e.g., experienced bartenders, managers, etc.) and secondary (e.g., movie actors) references groups. Only one bartender credited an outside socialization resource (his brother). This person, however, was a veteran bartender at another bar.

Since bartenders depend largely on gratuities as income, and the participants in this study used many of the same techniques as taxi drivers, waitresses, and exotic dancers. Like cab drivers (Davis, 1959), bartenders learn to typify or categorize many of their clientele. By categorizing clients, the bartenders were able to anticipate customer behaviour (e.g., low tipping tendencies or drinking patterns). For example, in the case of low tipping customer behaviour, bartenders may benefit from using definitions that categorize clientele. Similar to Paules (1991) findings on waitresses, categorizing customers ("young Americans") can reduce the bartender's sense of responsibility and buffer him from the negative feelings associated with receiving low tips. Bartenders learn how to categorize customers through personal interaction with clientele and from more experienced bartenders.

As with waiters/waitresses (Paules, 1991; Butler & Snizek, 1976; Butler & Skipper, 1980; Prus & Irini, 1980), cabdrivers (Davis, 1959; Karen, 1962) and exotic dancers (Lewis, 1998:59; Thompson & Harred, 1992:307), bartenders develop ways to increase the amount of money they make at their job. Similar to findings examining other service industry workers (Butler & Snizek, 1976; Paules, 1991; Prus & Irini, 1980; Lewis, 1998), the bartenders of this study engaged in various techniques of manipulation

used to increase tips. For example, some of the bartenders interviewed, reported flirting, befriending, and suggestive selling as ways to manipulate their customers into leaving larger gratuities.

In addition to tips received from customers and other staff members, some of the bartenders in this study engaged in scams or hustles to increase take home income per shift. This finding fit with the findings of a study conducted by Prus and Irini (1980), in that bartenders learn and engage in a number of bar scams. Many of the bartenders in this study learned to engage in various deviant behaviours that would be considered unethical, offensive, and unacceptable outside the bar subculture. However, it is important to note that these bartenders were able to neutralize the deviance associated with these scams or hustles by explaining that they primarily targeted low tipping customers.

The findings of this thesis also identified a number of other deviant aspects of bartending that were not emphasized in literature on service workers. The bartenders in this study identified that alcohol consumption was commonplace during and after shifts. The bartenders reported that drinking became normalized because everyone in the bar subculture is doing it and in some instances, it represents a reward for working hard. Some have even experienced ridicule or negative reinforcement for not drinking.

Sex is another aspect of the occupation that is considered normative behaviour. Many of the bartenders admitted to engaging in sexual activity with other staff members and customers during and after work hours. Many of the bartenders interviewed saw sex as a positive reward associated with the job.

Nearly every aspect of the bartender's job involves interacting with other members of the bar subculture. Like other research (Butler & Snizek, 1976; Prus & Irini, 1980; Paules, 1991) examining various service industry workers, the bartenders of this study indicate that sociability is a very large part of their occupation. However, most of the interaction that the bartenders engaged in is superficial and largely involves trying to increase tips. Therefore, research by Bissonette (1977) suggesting that bartenders could work as community mental health workers seems unlikely considering the fact that most of what bartender's do and say is to increase money.

Much of the research involving bartenders has occurred incidentally to a study of another group of service worker (e.g., waitresses, exotic dancers, etc.). Therefore the concerns facing many bartenders have never really been addressed. The research that has specifically looked at bartenders has predominantly examined the positive aspects (e.g., high self-esteem and job satisfaction, and sociability) of the occupation. The findings of this study suggest that there are a number of negative consequences associated with bartending the nightshift. Some negative consequences that were noted include high levels of stress associated with the business of the job, lack of involvement with day time society and feelings of forced association with other nightshift workers. Sleep deprivation, threats and physical attacks by unruly customers were also mentioned by some of the bartenders.

Current literature also does not address bartenders' achievement of the zone. This is probably due to the fact that most researchers examining bartenders have never worked behind a bar. According to most of the bartenders in this study, achieving the zone is very real and very much a part of mastering one's occupation. Achieving the zone may

be synonymous with developing a sense of competence and comfort in one's job. The bartender no longer needs to ask questions regarding his role and in a sense develops a feeling of control over his environment. Many of the bartenders in this study noted that newer bartenders would be unlikely to achieve the zone since they are more likely to get flustered in a busy bar. Therefore, achieving the zone may be tantamount to being fully socialized into the role of bartender.

Researchers interested in the service industry may benefit from this study. In addition to adding to current literature on the service industry, this research specifically focuses on male nightshift bartenders; an occupational group that little has been written about. This study on male bartenders may lend valuable insight into service industry socialization. Since a bartender conducted this study, it may also provide researchers with information they may not have been able to obtain.

Social learning theorist may also contrive significance from the findings of this study. Social learning theory adequately explained how male bartenders come to learn their role in the bar subculture. The findings of this thesis may also be of interest to other criminologists (behaviour theorist and subculture theorists). This thesis attempted to explain how males learn, engage, and normalize conventional and semi-deviant behaviours within the bar subculture.

This thesis may be of particular interest to bartenders or those considering to bartend. The findings encapsulate how bartenders are socialized into their occupation and what occurs when they learn their job (i.e., the zone). For veteran bartenders, this thesis will provide information that many of them will likely identify with. For new bartenders, the results outline some positive and negative aspects of the occupation. By

being exposed to this information, many of the glorified portrayals by the media will be dispelled and newer bartenders will receive a true account of the occupation.

There are many possible future avenues of research involving bartenders and bartending as an occupation. Researchers could compare and contrast the socialization processes and experiences of female bartenders with male bartenders to gain a deeper understanding of the processes associated with learning to bartend. The experiences of female bartenders are undoubtedly quite different from male bartenders, and examining these differences would broaden the scope of current research on the service industry.

Further research may also compare and contrast the experiences of nightshift and dayshift bartenders. Applying the process of differential association, dayshift bartenders may not be exposed to as many deviant people and practises in the bar subculture as the bartender working strictly nights. This may be due to differences between day and night clientele. In addition, the working hours of a dayshift bartender may be more conducive to maintaining close relationships with family and friends outside the bar, rather than being forced to associate with fellow nightshift workers.

Research focusing specifically on the deviant behaviour associated with bartending may also be a worthy addition to existing literature. Researchers could examine what factors determine why some bartenders engage in certain deviant acts while others do not. They may study, in greater detail, the processes that bartenders use to neutralize and normalize this deviant behaviour. Research may focus on whether or not this learned deviant behaviour becomes part of the bartenders role outside the bar subculture. It may also be important to determine if these bartenders were likely to engage in similar behaviours prior to their involvement with the occupation. Researchers

may choose to examine the influence that roles outside the bar subculture (e.g., parents, spouse, partner, etc.) have on an individual bartender's involvement with the occupation. At the same time, attempting to identify whether the amount of time spent in the bar subculture affects the overall involvement in deviant aspects of the bar subculture.

Bartenders represent a large segment of the service industry. They hold a pivotal role within the subculture in that they are central to many of the interactions that take place within the bar. By focusing future research on this diverse group, researchers may gain a deeper understanding of the service industry as a whole.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Information Sheet

Information Sheet

The Social World of the Male Night Shift Bartender

I am conducting research that explores the social world of the male, night shift bartender. I am interested in interviewing male bartenders who work evenings. The interviews will last approximately 1-1 1/2 hours.

The interview will focus on your personal experiences as a bartender working the night shift and in particular, how you learned to conduct your work. Some topics covered in the interview may be of a sensitive or personal nature (e.g., income, personal experiences as a bartender, etc.).

To maintain confidentiality, interview tapes will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed. Neither your name, bar's name, nor any other identifying information will be retained in the record transcripts of the interviews. Individuals will not be I.D.'ed in any way.

If you agree to participate in the study you can refuse to answer any questions posed to you during the interview and are free to withdraw from the interview at any time. All participants' names will remain confidential. In addition, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you can contact Dr. A. Hall of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ethics Committee at the University of Windsor (253-3000, ext. 2202, email: hall@uwindsor.ca) If you have any questions regarding this research, or wish to arrange an interview, please contact me:

Adam G. P. Stubbs
Phone: (519) 971-8051

Appendix B
Written Consent Form

Written Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of the male, night shift bartender, in order to gain insight into their social world.

I have been asked to participate in this interview and share my personal experiences as a bartender. I have been informed that my name, and place of employment will remain in complete confidentiality, and will in no way be associated with any information provided in the interview. I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and that the taped interview will be destroyed once the interview has been transcribed.

I understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question asked during the interview and can withdraw from the interview at any time without penalty.

I _____ (please print clearly) have read the above statement, and agree to be a participant in Adam Stubbs' study concerning the social world of the male, night shift bartenders.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C
Interview Guide

Interview Guide

1. Demographic questions

- (a) How old are you?
- (b) Where were you born?
- (c) Where is your family located (e.g., siblings, parents, extended family, etc.)?
- (d) How many years have you been bartending?
- (e) How long have you been working night shifts?
- (f) What type of bars have you worked in (e.g., dance bar, strip club, sport bar, etc.)?
- (g) What type of bar are you currently working in (e.g., dance bar, strip club, sport bar, etc.)?

2. Adaptation processes and techniques bartenders use

- (a) How did you get started in bartending?
- (b) What did you have to learn to bartend, explain?
 - Was someone(s) especially helpful in this process?
 - How?
- (c) What type of duties are you expected to perform as part of your job?
 - Were all these duties spelled out to you during your training and/or schooling?
 - If not, how did you come to learn to perform them?
 - Were you taught these duties?
 - If so, by whom?
- (d) What factors led you to work night shifts?
 - Discuss advantages of working late hours (e.g., increased tips, better clientele)
 - Discuss disadvantages of working late hours (e.g., limited daytime hours)
- (e) As a bartender, are there any specific techniques you use to:
 - deal with difficult personalities (e.g., rude customers, employees, etc.)?
 - deal with drunk customers
 - increase tips?
 - * Ask interviewee to describe these techniques and elaborate on how they learned them.
 - * What piece of advice would you give to a new bartenders just starting out at the job?
- (f) Do you consider bartending stressful?
 - If yes, why and how do you deal with this stress?
 - How does this stress compare to other jobs you have had?
 - If no, why?
- (g) As a bartenders, have you ever experienced 'being in the zone'?
 - If yes, explain?

3. Occupational social interactions

- (a) Describe and explain the relationship bartenders at your bar have with:
 - other bartenders
 - wait staff

- kitchen staff
 - management
 - owner(s)
 - customers
- (b) Compared to the above people in the previous question, describe the social position of the bartender at your bar?
- (c) Describe the typical customers you deal with at you bar:
- age
 - income
 - occupation
 - gender
 - sexual orientation
- (d) What sorts of questions do customers ask you?
- (e) Do you have a 'regular' clientele?
- If yes, describe your relationship with them.
- (f) Have you been sexually propositioned while working as a bartender?
- If yes, from whom? Explain how you dealt with the proposition from:
 - other staff
 - customers
 - If no, does this occur at your bar?
- (g) Have you ever sexually propositioned anyone while working as a bartender?
- If yes, who and what was the outcome of the proposition?
 - If no, does this occur at your bar?

4. Income questions

- (a) Estimate your total income (weekly, monthly, yearly)
- (b) Estimate your income for bartending (weekly, monthly, yearly)
- (c) What percentage of your wage comes from tips?
- (d) On average, what do you usually make each night in tips?
- (e) What is the most you have made in tips for one night?
- How frequent is this?
- (f) What is the least amount of tips you have made for one night bartending?
- How frequent is this?
- (g) Do you have any opinions on what determines how a customer or staff member will tip?
- (h) How often do customers or staff members stiff you with a low or no tip at all?
- (i) What do you do to influence the tips you receive from customers and/or other staff members (e.g., waitresses)?
- (j) Besides money, have you ever been offered anything else as a tip (e.g., drugs, casino chips, etc.).
- If yes, please describe.
- (k) Do you do your taxes annually?
- If yes, how much of your tips do you declare as tax?
- (l) As a bartender, are you aware of any bar scams?

- If yes, please describe them and explain how you learned them?
- Who is usually involved in doing these scams?

5. Degree of commitment to the social world of the occupation

- (a) How often do you work as a bartender (hours per shift, shifts per week)?
- (b) Do you associate with staff and customers when you are not working?
 - If yes, describe the nature of the relationship you have with each of these people?
 - If no, how come?
- (c) Do you frequent the bar when you are not working?
 - If yes, how come?
 - If no, how come?
- (d) Have you ever covered someone's shift or requested to work extra shifts for reasons other than financial?
 - If so, what were your reasons?
- (e) Besides money, what are your reasons for choosing to bartend?
- (f) How long do you plan to bartend for?

6. Alcohol and drug related questions

- (a) Do you drink alcohol?
 - If yes, how often?
 - How much do you typically consume on these occasions?
 - If no, how come?
- (b) Have you ever consumed alcohol while working as a bartender?
 - If yes:
 - How frequently?
 - What is managements policy regarding this?
 - If no, how come?
- (c) Do you ever drink alcohol after work?
 - If yes:
 - How often?
 - Is this common practise among bartenders?
 - Who is usually involved in this drinking?
 - If no, how come?
- (d) Do you use drugs?
 - If yes, how often?
 - How much do you typically consume on these occasions?
 - If no, how come?
- (e) Have you ever taken drugs while working as a bartender?
 - If yes:
 - What type(s)?
 - How frequently?
 - What is managements policy regarding this?
 - If no, how come?

(f) Do you ever take drugs after work?

-If yes:

- What type?**
- How often?**
- Is this common practise among bartenders?**
- Who is usually involved in this drug using?**

- If no, how come?

(f) Are illicit drugs part of the bar atmosphere where you work?

If yes:

- What type of drugs?**
- Who is involved?**
- What role do the bartenders play?**

(g) How does the bar environment influence whether you use alcohol or drugs?

7. Degree of commitment to society outside of the bar establishment

(a) Partnership status

(b) Children

- Do you live with your children?**
- Who contributes to the support of your children?**
- How much time do you spend with these people?**

(c) Do you maintain relationships with family and friends outside the bar?

- If yes, define these relationships.**
- How much time do you spend with these people?**
- If no, how come?**

(d) Do you currently have any outstanding debts?

- Bank loans**
- Student loans**
- Credit cards**
- Car payments**
- House mortgage**
- Other**

(e) Besides bartending, are you employed anywhere else?

If yes:

- Describe the occupation**
- How long have you been doing this work?**

(f) What do you consider to be your main occupation?

- If bartending, do you consider this your career?**

(g) Have you engaged in volunteer work in your community?

- Describe the work.**
- How long?**
- If no longer, how come?**

(h) What personal activities, outside of the bar, do you enjoy?

- Who do you do these with?**

(i) Are you a member of a religious organization?

- How often do you engage in this type of activity?
- (j) What is your highest level of education?
- (k) Are you currently in school?
 - If yes, what program are you enrolled in?
 - What school are you going to?
 - If no, do you plan to go back to school?
- (l) Is there another occupation different from bartending that you are pursuing?

Closing Question

- (a) Is there anything that you thought I would have asked you that I didn't or should be asking? (e.g., any stories or situations that may be relevant to this study)

Vita Auctoris

NAME: Adam Gordon Park Stubbs

PLACE OF BIRTH: Halifax, Nova Scotia

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1973

EDUCATION: Riverside Secondary School
Windsor, Ontario
1987-1992

University of Windsor
1992-1997
Bachelor of Arts, Psychology

University of Windsor
1992-1997
Bachelor of Arts, Honours Criminology

University of Windsor
1997-2001
Master of Arts, Sociology (Criminology)